

267 Н Е 1700.

ANCIENT and MODERN  
H I S T O R Y  
OF THE  
B R E T H R E N:

O R.

## A SUCCINCT NARRATIVE

OF THE

## PROTESTANT CHURCH

OF THE

UNITED BRETHREN,

**O R.**

UNITAS FRATRUM.

**In the remoter Ages, and particularly in the present Century :**

WRITTEN IN GERMAN

By D A V I D C R A N Z,

Author of the HISTORY of GREENLAND.

Now translated into ENGLISH, with Emendations;  
and published, with some additional Notes.

By BENJAMIN LATROBE.

11. ANALYSIS 40

L O N D O N:

Printed by W. and A. STRAHAN;

And sold by J. ROBSON, in Bon Street; T. CADELL, in the Strand; C. DILLY, in the Pou ry; and at the Settlements and Chapels of the Congregations of the Brethren.

MDCCLXXX.

## T H E

# EDITOR'S PREFACE.

**I**T is with pleasure that I can, by the assistance of some kind hands who translated this book, lay before the Public the History of the Church, known by the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or, *The United Brethren*. It has been much asked for by some in this country, who are desirous of an account which may be depended upon, of a people which has passed through good and much evil report.

The integrity of the Author may be relied on. He had the most authentic materials for his work ; and his impartiality is as well known to those who were acquainted with him, as his integrity and ability. He has evidently avoided painting in strong colours the beauties of the church to which he belonged, rather disposed to show the mistakes and defects of its members in many instances, than to give a flattering picture of them.

Cranz wrote his history as a master of the subject upon, and the language in, which he wrote. The translators see plainly that the stile and diction of the work here presented to the reader fall far short of the original : but this is the case with almost all translations. We, therefore, hope that the candid reader will make a charitable allowance in this respect : and, if he should meet with a Germanism, &c.,

## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

he will think it is a translation. Indeed, the different constitutions and customs of the countries mentioned in this work, and consequently the different offices, modes of expression in divinity, in the law, &c. make it very difficult to translate such an history as this, so as to render the diction always pleasing. This book has passed through two editions in Germany, and answered the proposed end, by showing the origin and progress of the church of the Brethren, and the true state of their case. The Author, who departed this life in the year 1777, was so kind as to undertake some emendations, from papers and observations put into his hands, for the use of this translation. But it pleased God to take him to himself, before he had completed it. However, it has been, in several places, corrected and amended, agreeably to his intention, and to authentic documents.

As the Author wrote in Germany, he could naturally suppose the religious and civil constitution of that country to be well known there. But as this cannot be expected to be the case of every English reader, a few notes have been added by way of illustration.

The Author has, at the end of every section, quoted the books and manuscripts from whence he took his materials. As scarcely any of these books have been published in English, and as they are in very few hands, it was thought unnecessary to follow him in this respect; since it would not be of any real service to the reader. We have, however, given a list of such books and manuscripts after this Preface:  
and,

## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

and, as the titles are, mostly, in Latin, or in German, we have added a translation of them.

Of the *Ancient Brethren*, John Amos Comenius has given a brief historical Account in a treatise prefixed to his *Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England*, &c. written in Latin, and dedicated to king Charles II\*

This and other historians of the church of the Brethren have been known and read by the learned in Great Britain and Ireland; and the established churches of these kingdoms have shown warm affection and esteem for that ancient Protestant episcopal church, ever since the time of the Reformation.

Even at the beginning of this century, the existence and "the deplorable condition of this Protestant episcopal church in Poland†," were so well known in England, that an *Order of the privy council* was issued on the 10th of March 1715, "for their relief, and for preserving the remainder of the said episcopal churches in

\* The original of this book has been reprinted in London, in 12mo, by J. Downing, in 1710. The title is: *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis, Disciplinæque ac Obedientiæ, in Ecclesia recte constituta, vel constituenda, Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ ad Anglicanam Parænesis. Scripta a Jo. Amos Comenio, Ecclesiæ Fratrum Bohemorum Episcopo; ob Utilitatem suam turbulentis his Temporibus recusa.*

A translation of it was printed in London in 4to by Thomas Parkhurst, in 1661, bearing this title: *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England; wherein is set forth the Good of Unity, Order, Discipline, and Obedience, in Churches rightly now, or to be, constituted. With a Description premised of the Order and Discipline used in the Churches of the Brethren of Bohemia, &c. By J. Amos Comenius.* To which is still added his *Dedicatory Address to the Church of England.* With a recommendatory Preface of Joshua Tymarchus.

† See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Report*, &c. p. 21, &c.



## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

"Great Poland and Polish Prussia." This order of the council was granted, "upon the humble petition of the bishops and clergy of the reformed episcopal churches, first settled in Bohemia, and, since, forced, by the persecutions of their enemies, to retire into the Greater Poland and Polish Prussia;" and obtained for them "upon a representation made to his Majesty by Dr. *William Wake*, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. *John Robinson*, bishop of London."

Archbishop *Wake* did not act herein merely as a humane Christian, without enquiry. He wrote to Dr. *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, dean of the chapel of the king of Prussia, and eldest bishop of the Unity at that period, desiring an account of the churches of the Brethren: to which Dr. *Jablonsky* gave him a full and satisfactory answer, proving their episcopal succession, and showing the former flourishing, and the present distressed, state of their churches. This deduction was printed by Dr. *Pfaffius*, chancellor of the university of Tuebingen, in his book, *De Successione Episcopali* \*.

As to that part of the *present Church of the Brethren*, known, by the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or, *The United Brethren of the Augustan Confession*, the account of which forms the greatest part of this history; this has also not been unknown to the divines in England, at, and since, its revival in *Herrnbut*.

The late archbishop of Canterbury, *John Potter*, said, "That no Englishman, who had any notion

\* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Report, &c.* page 6.

" of

## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

“ of ecclesiastical history, could doubt of their (episcopal) succession \*.”

*The Committee of the Associates of the late Dr. Bray, for propagating Christianity among the Negroes, delivered the following report at a meeting held on the 2d of March 1736-7†.*

“ Read, A report from the committee appointed  
“ to wait upon his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, then elect, to desire his grace’s opinion concerning the church of the Moravian Brethren, till  
“ now at Herrnhut; and to know whether any thing  
“ in their doctrines was so far repugnant to those of  
“ the church of England, as to make it improper for to employ some of the Brethren in instructing the negroes in christianity? Which  
“ opinion was :

“ That he had long been acquainted, by books,  
“ with the Moravian Brethren; and that they were  
“ apostolical and episcopal, not sustaining any doctrines  
“ repugnant to the thirty-nine articles of the church  
“ of England: and that he was confirmed in these  
“ sentiments of them by the conferences he had  
“ lately had with the count of Zinzendorf, one of  
“ their Brethren, and director of the churches of the  
“ Moravians.”

Archbishop Potter’s congratulatory letter to count Zinzendorf, upon his having been consecrated a bishop, is a proof of the church of the Brethren not being unknown. I will here insert it at large, as

\* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia Report*, &c. page 7.

† Ibid. *Report*, &c. p. 7. and *Appendix*, p. 11.

## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

I find it in the *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, printed in 1749\*.

“ Viro admodum Reverendo,  
 “ Domino NICOLAO LUDOVICO, Moravienſi Epifcopo,  
 “ JOANNES CANTUARIENSIS, S. P. D.

“ Sanctam illam, vereque illuſtrem (quibuſcunque  
 “ forte tenebris jam ſit involuta) Moravienſem  
 “ Cathedram, ad quam, favente Divino Numine,  
 “ plaudente cœleſti choro (id enim dubitare nos  
 “ haud finit, quam de te concepimus, opinio) nu-

\* See the *Report of the Committee*, &c. pages 8 and 9.

*A literal Tranſlation of his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's  
 Congratulation.*

John, by Divine Providence, Archbiſhop of Canterbury,  
 To the Right Reverend  
 Count Nicholas Lewis, Biſhop of the Moravian Church,  
 ſendeth greeting.

Moſt ſincerely and cordially I congratulate you, upon your having been lately raiſed to the ſacred and juſtly celebrated epifcopal chair of the Moravian church, (by whatever clouds it may be now obſcured) by the grace of Divine Providence, with the applauſe of the heavenly hoſt: for the opinion we have conceived of you, does not ſuffer us to doubt it. It is the ſubject of my ardent prayer, that this honour, ſo conferred, and which your merit ſo juſtly entitles you to, may prove no leſs beneficial to the church, than at all times acceptable to yourſelf and your's. For, inſufficient as I am, I ſhould be entirely unworthy of that high ſtation in which Divine Providence has placed me, were I not to ſhow myſelf ever ready to uſe every exertion in my power, for the aſſiſtance of the univerſal church of God: but to love and embrace, even preferably to others, your church, united with us in the cloſeſt bond of love; having hitherto, as we have been informed, invariably maintained both the pure and primitive faith, and the diſcipline of the firſt church; being neither intimidated by dangers, nor ſeduced by the manifold temptations of Satan. I requeſt, in return, the ſupport of your prayers, and that you will ſalute in my name your brother-biſhops, as well as the whole Chriſtian flock over which God has made you an overſeer. Farewell.

Given at Weſtmiſter, the 10th day of July 1737.

## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

" per es erectus, sincere atque ex intimo corde gra-  
 " tulator: qui tibi haud sine eximio merito delatus  
 " honos, ut ecclesiæ salutaris sit, nec tibi tuiusve  
 " unquam poenitendus, ardenti prece contendo.  
 " Hoc enim fastigio, quo Divina me Providentia,  
 " utcumque imparem, constituit, penitus essem in-  
 " dignus, nisi me universo Dei populo, pro virili,  
 " opem ferre semper exhiberem paratum; vos autem,  
 " præ cæteris, amem atque amplectar, qui, nec pe-  
 " riculis territi, nec aliis quibusvis Satanæ πειρασμοῖς  
 " seducti, una cum pura primævaque fide, primæ-  
 " vam etiam ecclesiæ disciplinam constanter adhuc, ut  
 " accēpimus, tuentes, arctiori nobiscum vinculo con-  
 " juncti estis. Precibus me tuis, oro, vicissim ad-  
 " juves: co-episcopis autem tuis, totique, cui te  
 " Deus præesse voluit, Christiano gregi salutem no-  
 " mine meo impertias. Vale.

" Dabam Westmonasterii, IV. Id. Aug.

" MDCCXXXVII."

Dr. *Isaac Watts* also gave a testimony to this church,  
 " under the patronage of that noble and excellent  
 " person, count Zinzendorf," in a letter, dated Dec.  
 21, 1738.

But the *Act of Parliament* passed in the year 1747,  
 and that of the year 1749, for encouraging the people  
 known by the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or, *United Bre-*  
*thren*, show that they were not unknown in their re-  
 vived state in England.

This is, however, the first genuine and authentic  
 history of the church of the Brethren, published in  
 England.

A small

## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

A small pamphlet was printed and published in the year 1775, entitled, *A concise historical Account of the present Constitution of the Unitas Fratrum*; as also, *A succinct View of the Missions of the Brethren*: which are both authentic.

But even this history, as the Author tells us in his preface, "is no complete history of the church of the Brethren. It is no more than an *Essay*" towards it, or, a summary of their history, given to the public, for the sake of such as would be glad to obtain a true account of this church.

It will appear from this short history of the church of the Brethren, that no Christian church has passed through more vicissitudes, has been more oppressed and persecuted, or seemed nearer its extinction, than this: and yet, God, in his grace and wisdom, has thought fit to preserve it unto this day.

I cannot refrain giving to the reader an extract of an "Address of the ancient Church of the Brethren to the Church of England\*", which, by king "Charles the Second's special orders, was recommended, under the hands of his grace *William Sancroft*, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and *Henry Compton*, lord bishop of London, to all pious and "compassionate Christians. In which address it is "set forth,

"That the Bohemian church has been free, from her infancy, for almost seven hundred years, from the encroachments of the Roman see. Crushed at last by its prevailing power, it was sinking apace

\* See *Acta Fratrum*, &c. *Report*, &c. page 19.

## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

into death and ruin; when, being ready to expire, she brought forth a *Benoni*; a progeny which, growing up in the several parts of Bohemia, animated and acted by one and the same spirit, obtained the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, Fraternal Unity:—as it appears by Lefsius and other authors.

“ That this fraternity, the heiress of the truly ancient faith, watered and enriched with the blood of Hufs and Jerom of Prague, her famous martyrs, taking deep root in Bohemia, spread its boughs as far as Poland, renounced the growing errors of popery, and preserved the succession of episcopal orders.

“ That this church — was bereft of her former protection, languishing, ever since, under the rage and fury of those who violate all faith.

“ That it was through the bounty of the English church they were formerly saved from a fatal ruin: but that, after so great suffering, they have scarce recovered their spirits; having also lost the assistance of the secular power, which for some time supported them.

“ That they saved their lives; but lost their strength.” —

Though, at that time, thus reduced; yet they were brought to a much lower ebb, and, in the opinion of many, totally extinct in the beginning of this century. It, however, pleased God to preserve a remnant, who proved a seed which the Lord blessed. And this small seed is, by the hand of God, become a tree, which has borne some fruit, and will, through  
his

## THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

his grace, bear more, to the glory of our Father in heaven.

The congregations of the Brethren, and the individuals who compose them, do not count themselves, as though they had already attained, either were already perfect. They are persuaded there is much room for amendment. As they have but one head and master, the Lord Jesus Christ, they confide in his grace, that he will lead them ~~still~~ farther in his blessed ways. And, after all possible attainments, they trust, their language will be, as it now is, God forbid that we should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ!

BENJAMIN LA TROBE.

A LIST

A  
L I S T  
O F T H E  
B O O K S and M A N U S C R I P T S  
Made use of in compiling this HISTORY.

**C**OMENII Kirchen-Historie der Boehmischen Brueder.  
(John Amos Comenius's Ecclesiastical History of the  
Bohemian Brethren.)

**ADRIANI REGENVOLSCII** Systema historico-chronologicum  
Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum. (Adrian Regenvolscius's  
historical and chronological System of the Slavonian  
Churches.)

**HISTORIA** Persecutionis Ecclesiarum Bohemicarum. It. Elsners  
Uebersetzung der Boehmischen Verfolgungs-Geschichte.  
(History of the Persecutions of the Bohemian Churches :  
or, Elsner's German Translation of it.)

**PAUL STRANSKY** De Republica Bohemorum.

**RIEGERS** Salzbund. (Rieger's Covenant of Salt.)

**RIEGERS** Boehmische Brueder. (Rieger's Bohemian Brethren.)

**CHRISTOPH AUGUST SALIGS** Historie der Augspurgischen  
Confession. (Salig's History of the Confession of Augs-  
burg.)

**JOACHIMI CAMERARII** Historica Narratio de Fratrum or-  
thodoxorum Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia.  
(Joachim Camerarius's historical Account of the Congre-  
gations of the orthodox Brethren in Bohemia, Moravia,  
and Poland.)

**JOANNIS LASITII** Historia de Origine et Gestis Fratrum  
Bohemorum. (John Lasitius's History of the Origin of,  
and the Events in, the Church of the Bohemian Brethren,  
in Manuscript.)

**HENRICUS MILLE** In Catechismum Minorem beati Lutheri.  
(Henry Milde on the Lesser Catechism of the late Dr.  
Luther.)

JOHANN



## *A List of Books and Manuscripts*

- JOHANN GOTTLIEB CARPZOV'S** Religions-Untersuchung der Boehmischen Brueder. (Dr. Carpzov's Examination of the Religion of the Bohemian Brethren.)
- Acta historico-ecclesiastica.** (A Collection of Records belonging to Church-History.)
- ELSNERS** Boehmisch-Evangelischer Palmaum. (Elsner's Protestant-Bohemian Palmtree.)
- JOANNIS AMOS COMENII** Ratio Disciplinae, Ordinisque ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum. (Comenius's Account of the Church-Discipline and Order in the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren.)
- Ejusdem** Ecclesiae Slavonicae brevis Historia. (A concise History of the Slavonian Church. By the same.)
- An** Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England, &c. By the same. (See the Editor's Preface.)
- GEORGE HOLYK'S** Beschreibung des Zustandes des Koenigreichs Boehmen. (George Holyk's Description of the State of the Kingdom of Bohemia.)
- Martyrologium Bohemicum.** (Martyrology of the Bohemians.)
- DANIELIS ERNESTI JABLONSKY** Epistola Apologetica ad Dom. Mauclere. (Dr. Jablonsky's Apologetic Letter to Monf. de Mauclere.)
- Epistola de Ordinatione et Successione Episcopali in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum** conservata; quæ legitur in **CHRIST. MATTH. PFAFFII** Institutionibus Juris Ecclesiastici. (Dissertation concerning the Ordination and episcopal Succession, preserved in the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren, to be found in Dr. Pfaff's Institutions of the ecclesiastical Law.)
- Historia o Cyrkwj Czeske.** (History of the Bohemian Church, in Manuscript.)
- AUGUSTIN SCHULZENS** Lebenslauf. (The Bohemian Minister Augustin Schulz's Life, in Manuscript.)
- Desselben** Kirchenbuch der Boehmischen Gemeinde zu Ruecksdorf. (Schulz's Church-book of the Bohemian Congregation at Ruecksdorf, in Manuscript.)

**ZACHARIAS**

*used in compiling this HISTORY.*

- ZACHARIAS GELINEK:** Historische Nachricht von der Böhmischen Brüder Erweckung, Anfang, &c. (Zachary Gelinek's Historical Account of the Bohemian Brethren's Awakening, Emigration, &c. in Manuscript.)
- Geschichts-Erzählung** verschiedener um des Evangelii willen aus Böhmen und Mähren vertriebener Leute, &c. Basel, 1749. (Account of the History of several People expelled Bohemia and Moravia for the sake of the Gospel.)
- Schreiben** des Sächsischen General-Lieutenants von **ZEZSCHWIZ** an seinen Herrn Bruder, 1759. (A Letter from the Saxon Lieutenant-General de Zetzschwiz to his own Brother, in Manuscript.)
- Neueste Nachricht** zur Historie der Böhmischen Brüder, &c. in **MOSERS** Altes und Neues aus dem Reich Gottes. (The newest Account relative to the History of the Bohemian Brethren, &c. in Moser's Things Old and New of the Kingdom of God.)
- ISAAC LE LONG** Godts Wonderen met Zyne Kerke, of Gedenkwäerdig Verhaal van de Boheemsche en Moravische Broeders. (Isaac Lelong's Wonders of God with his Church, or, Remarkable Account of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren.)
- ZEDLERS** Universal-Lexicon.
- Buedingische Samlung** einiger in die Kirchenhistorie einschlagender Schriften. (A Collection of certain Pieces relating to Church-History, chiefly in this Century, printed at Buedingen in Wetteravia, in three Volumes.)
- Gegenwärtige Gestalt** des Creuzreichs Jesu in seiner Unschuld. (The present Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus in its Purity.)
- Freywillige Nachlese**, &c. (Freewilling Gleaning, &c. in two Volumes.)
- SIGISMUND** Beleuchtung des Baumgartenschen Bedenkens. (Siegfried's Consideration of Dr. Baumgarten's Opinion.)
- Des Grafen von ZINZENDORF** Περὶ Εξουτ. das ist, Naturelle Reflexiones, &c. (Count Zinzendorf's Natural Reflexions.)

M. AUGUST

T H E

## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT has been wished for many years past, that some one would lay before the Public an *History of the Brethren*, that is, a true and faithful relation of the remarkable events in the ecclesiastical history of this century, which have occurred in the *Unitas Fratrum*, or, *the Protestant Bohemian-Moravian Church of the Brethren adhering to the Confession of Augsburg*; which church was almost extinguished one hundred and fifty years ago in Bohemia and Moravia, but renewed about the year 1722 at *Herrnbut* in Upper Lusatia, and has, since then, within a few years, spread in every quarter of the globe.

The subject is in itself so important, that it well deserves to be presented in its true colours to the attention of the Public, and to be thus transmitted to posterity. For, what has hitherto been written about it, is ~~incomplete~~, partly devoid of authenticity, and often notoriously perverted and false. This is not always to be ascribed to the bad intention of the historians, but chiefly to the want of authentic accounts. The Brethren, on their part, have communicated to the public little or nothing in its proper connection; and even that which they have published was either forgotten, or so distorted and covered with falsehoods by many adversaries, that a candid and impartial reader was not able to find his

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way out of this labyrinth. Was he desirous to obtain information of the Brethren; as, indeed, many historians have requested a succinct, connected sketch of their history, to insert it in their works, or to use it as a clue; the persons applied to were unable to execute it in an authentic manner, for want of time, and of the necessary documents. They were, therefore, obliged to console them with the hope that the Brethren were collecting materials for an history of the rise of, and the chief revolutions and occurrences in, the Church of the Brethren in all its branches, congregations, missions, and colonies.

This work was particularly committed to the ministers in the congregations and missions; and to this I have also contributed in my department. But, as much time and leisure was required before the materials, thus collected, could be prepared and arranged for a complete church-history of the Brethren, I found myself induced to draw up a brief history of the rise, the events and principal revolutions of the church of the Brethren in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, and of the renewal and spread of it in the later years. I was induced to this by the express desire of some historians in both protestant religions, who complained of the want of authentic accounts, and received with peculiar pleasure the oral relation of this and the other event; as well as by the wishes of the Brethren, and of many friends, to whom the *History of Greenland* had given a clearer light into the whole affair of the Brethren.

To this end, I made use of the well-known historians of the ancient church of the Brethren. The *Church-History of Comenius* being known in both the

German and Latin tongues, I made a short extract of it, which I rendered more complete by some remarkable passages out of *Laspius*, *Camerarius* and *Regenvolscius*, out of the *Historia Persecutionis Ecclesiarum Bobemicarum*, *Saligs Historie der Augspurgischen Confession*, *Riegers Salzbund* and *Boebmische Brueder*, &c. In the modern history of the Brethren, besides the accounts which were already compiled from relations by word of mouth, and a great number of written documents which I had in my possession, I principally had recourse to the *Buedingische Sammlung*, *Count Zinzendorf's Naturelle Reflexionen*, and other writings quoted in this History, which are printed. I have pointed out in the notes where the reader may turn to find the proofs, or a farther illustration, of what I have related.

My design was, to write with all possible brevity, that the reader might be able at one view to survey the principal revolutions in the church of the Brethren. To that end, I had only mentioned the beginning and occasion of every matter, congregation, mission, and such like; and related the motives and chief circumstances of them. But the publication having been delayed by my other occupations, I was enabled by the farther accounts and documents, which, in the mean time, came to hand, beside the beginning and occasion, to add the progress and the various changes of every event to the present time. But, lest the reader's mind and memory might be perplexed through the multiplicity of matters, I have not related them in the way of annals; but have divided them, according to the principal occurrences,

cutrences, into Ten Periods, comprising in them every capital event, both in the church of the Brethren in general, and in each congregation, colony, and mission in particular.

From hence the reader himself will be able to form the right conception of this work. It is no complete history of the church of the Brethren. This would have been a work of more time and more previous labour. It is no more than an *Essay*, and indeed the very first of the kind, which has been compiled to oblige and serve some candid historians who desired it, and others who wished to see a true and connected account of the rise and progress of each congregation and mission of the Brethren.

In compiling this work, I have endeavoured to relate every thing with as much *brevity* as possible, strictly adhering to the *truth*, to be *candid*, *correct* and *impartial*.

My plan of *brevity* confined me to the chief events in the church of the Brethren, without descending to many transactions of individuals. But, as the late Count *Zinzendorf* has been a principal character in the renewed church of the Brethren; I could not possibly avoid taking notice of many of his transactions, so far as they had any influence upon the affairs of the church of the Brethren: although we hope to see them soon set in a more clear and full light in the *Memoirs of his life* \*. But yet, I have related every thing touching him, as well as every

\* These Memoirs of the Life of Count Zinzendorf have been printed in Germany in eight volumes, two of which have been translated, and published in English. (The Editor.)

## P R E F A C E.

other incident and transaction of the Brethren, as concisely as possible. With respect to such events only, as have given rise to particularly remarkable revolutions in the affairs of the Brethren, I have been more full and circumstantial.

No one will doubt that I had it in my power to come at a more certain and thorough knowledge of the true state of affairs, than the authors who were not of the Brethren's church; and much more so than their adversaries. My conscience bears me witness that I have written the *truth*, as I have found and proved it after the most mature examination. If, therefore, a reader should find many things, which he had formerly heard or read, either entirely omitted, or related differently; if he, on the other hand, should discover some things, which he has hitherto either not heard at all, or, at least, not considered in the same light, it is to be hoped, that he will give credit to them as here related, and place the opposite relations and explications to the right account, if he cannot excuse them with the want of authentic records in the time past.

The work which I describe is a work of God. This even some of the antagonists allow. But the instruments which God has been pleased to use in it were men. It, therefore, could not be conducted without mistakes. A reader who loves the truth, will not expect to read the faults, yea crimes, which the adversaries or slanderers of the Brethren have unjustly laid to their charge, with a refutation of them. This is an history, and no apology. What is actually true, I would not conceal; but have *candidly* and



*uprightly* pointed out the mistakes and errors of my Brethren; some of which are known, and some, perhaps, hitherto entirely unknown, to the public. I have followed herein the advice of my Brethren, who have, with an open, honest heart, pointed out to me many mistakes which had been hitherto unknown to myself. But I have chiefly taken for my pattern, the inspired writers of the Old and New Testament, who have not concealed the faults of the most eminent Men of God, but recorded them for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. My Brethren, and every Christian and candid reader will make the same use of my integrity. It is to be hoped that they will not disown the work of God on account of human weaknesses, but rather praise him the more, who has preserved it, notwithstanding all the mistakes in our own circle, and the opposition from without. •

Throughout the whole I have endeavoured to be *impartial*. Knowingly and with design I have written no untruth of others, nor mentioned and treated any adversary of the Brethren in an unbecoming manner; much less have I attacked any religion, denomination, and institution, or laid it to their charge, if any of their members have oppressed, scandalized, and persecuted the Brethren. I could not, however, totally pass them by in silence; otherwise, my Brethren who know these things, would have been deprived of many principal circumstances; and some readers out of our circle would have missed the form of the cross, which is the characteristic of a true congregation of Jesus. But yet I  
have

have either entirely omitted many a grievous oppression; or, whenever I was obliged to mention them, I have done it with all modesty, with every possible excuse of the persons concerned, and with the respect due to each constitution. The same impartiality I have endeavoured to observe towards my Brethren. I have neither written, nor concealed, any thing to please, or to displease, any one; and have carefully avoided the influence of any prepossession in me for or against any person or matter.

I cannot deny that it has cost me much time and labour to collect the necessary materials for this work, and to sift every thing to the bottom. But I must own, at the same time, that this labour has proved a great blessing to me. The meditation upon the wonderful ways of God with his church in general, and with the congregations of the Brethren in particular, has excited me to praise and thanksgiving. The sincerely devoted mind, and the boldness of faith of his servants have often put me to shame, and provoked to an emulation of their zeal. Their faults and weaknesses have not lessened them in my eyes; but made the work of God appear the greater. The patience and grace of God, in bearing with and rectifying so many mistakes, have awakened my confidence in him anew; and the preservation and furtherance of his work, amidst all the perplexing circumstances from within, and the numberless oppressions from without, have strengthened my faith, and encouraged me in the cheerful service of a Lord, so loving, gracious, powerful, and wise. Nor have I the least doubt but that many an at-

tentive reader will reap the same advantages from these considerations.

Those of my Brethren, who, after this way, have worshipped God for a long time, and longer than I, will *consider the days of old, the years of ancient times*, often, indeed, with deep abasement, but, at the same time, with inward joy and gratitude. Those who entered into their labours will discover the mind of their predecessors. what trouble and pains it has cost them, and how many difficulties they, at the hazard of their lives, had to encounter and to surmount before this work, through the grace of God, so far succeeded, that their successors now can reap the benefit of it, and have only to be attentive to the preserving and carrying it on in a blessed manner. How many rejoice, when they read or hear of the blessed work of God among Christians and Heathens; though they are ignorant of the distressing circumstances with which the beginning was attended, and how it was afterwards conducted! Such find here all this in a short compass, and may, at all events, make use of this small, and, on account of the multiplicity of materials, still imperfect work, as a manual to refer to. Every reader, attentive to the Brethren's church, who would be glad to know the truth, is here furnished with a plan and a clue by which he may find his way through the mazes of the many, and oft surprisingly contradictory, false reports and conceptions, and thus arrive at a certainty.

Should

# P R E F A C E.

ix

Should I be so fortunate as to see this my aim obtained, I should think my labour well bestowed.

But unto the Lamb which was slain, and hath redeemed us to God by his blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; to him be glory at all times in that church which waiteth for him, and in that which is about him, from ever-lasting to ever-lasting! Amen.

Bertholdsdorf,  
March 22, 1771.

DAVID CRANZ,

# C O N T E N T S.

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## THE ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN.

### P A R T I.

*THE State of the Christian Religion in Bohemia, until the Beginning of the Church of the Brethren in the Year 1457.*  
§ 1—7.

### P A R T II.

*The Formation, Extension, and Persecution of the Church of the Brethren, to the Time of the Reformation by Luther.*  
§ 8—23.

### P A R T III.

*The Negotiations of the Brethren with the Reformers and their Successors; and their Spread in Prussia and Poland.*  
§ 24—35.

### P A R T IV.

*What befel the Brethren remaining in Bohemia and Moravia, until their Dispersion in 1627.* § 36—50.

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## THE MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN.

### P A R T I.

*From the Awakening among the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, and their Emigration in 1722, to the Renewal of the Unity of the Brethren in 1727.* § 1—20.

### P A R T

## PART II.

*From the Renewal of the Unity of the Brethren by the Emigrants out of Moravia in 1727, to the first Commission at Herrnhut in 1732. § 21—38.*

## PART III.

*From the first Commission at Herrnhut in 1732, to the second Commission in 1736. § 39—66.*

## PART IV.

*From the second Commission at Herrnhut in 1736, to Count Zinzendorf's second Voyage to America in 1741. § 67—96.*

## PART V.

*From the Ordinary of the Brethren's Voyage to Pennsylvania in 1741, to the Synod held at Zeitz in 1746. § 97—130.*

## PART VI.

*From the Synod held at Zeitz in 1746, to the Ordinary's last Journey to England in 1751. § 131—171.*

## PART VII.

*From the Ordinary's last Journey to England in 1751, to his Return to Germany in 1755. § 172—194.*

## PART VIII.

*From the Ordinary's Return to Germany in 1755, to his Decease in 1760. § 195—237.*

## PART IX.

*From the Ordinary's Decease in 1760, to the General Synod in 1764. § 238—269.*

## PART X.

*From the General Synod in 1764, to that in 1769. § 270—304.*

THE  
ANCIENT HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRETHREN.

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PART I.

*The State of the Christian Religion in Bohemia, until  
the Beginning of the Church of the Brethren in the  
Year 1457.*

§ I.

**I**T is believed, that the gospel had, even in the days of the Apostles, been preached in Illyricum and Dalmatia; and this is proved from Rom. xv. 19. 2 Tim. iv. 10. Mention is also made of bishops and martyrs from these parts, as early as the second and third century. St. Jerom, a native of Illyricum, is by some supposed to be the first, who, for the use of his countrymen, translated the Bible into his own mother-tongue. The Sclavonians, therefore, who rent these provinces from the Grecian empire, found even then Christian churches there, and by degrees embraced the gospel; insomuch that Sclavonian bishops were expected at the sixth council held at Constantinople in the year 680: but they, as well as those of Lombardy, the native land of the Waldenses, declined to appear,

## 14 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part I.

pear, being averse to image-worship. The whole Slavonian nation, however, did not embrace the Christian religion till the ninth century; when the sister of Bogaris, king of Bulgaria, having been taken prisoner in a war with the Grecian emperor *Michael III.* and carried to Constantinople; on her return after the peace, by the assistance of *Cyrrillus* and *Methodius*, Greek monks, induced her brother to be baptized, and, in honour to her benefactor, to adopt the name of *Michael*. His subjects followed his example, and most of the Slavonian nations, by means of these Greeks, received the gospel.

### § 2.

By the above two Greek monks, King *Suatopluk*, in Moravia, about the year 860, and Duke *Borzywog* and his consort *Ludomilla*, in Bohemia, in 890, were converted to the Christian religion. *Methodius* was the first bishop of *Whelehrad*, at that time the chief city of Moravia, and regulated the form of the divine worship according to the rites of the Greek church, in the Slavonian language; into which also *Cyrrillus* is supposed to have translated the Bible, which translation is to this day as much in use among the Slavonian nations adhering to the Greek church, as the Vulgate is in the Latin church. Persecution was not wanting. The Duke was expelled by his heathen subjects; but, returning, died soon after. The duchess-dowager, at the instigation of her daughter-in-law *Drabomira*, was strangled in the chapel; and her grandson *Wenceslaus*, about the year 930, assassinated by his own brother *Boleslaus*, who was still a heathen. The Christians were persecuted and driven out of the country, the priests massacred, and the churches demolished.



§ 3.

FROM this persecution, the emperor *Otho I.* took occasion to unite Bohemia to the empire; and the pope had also an opportunity of bringing the Greek Christians under the See of Rome. The emperor compelled *Boleslaus* to desist from his persecution, and to acknowledge him his sovereign. His son *Boleslaus II.* erected in 968 a bishopric at Prague, and solicited for *Dithmar*, a canon of *Magdeburg*, to be the bishop. But, by the command of Pope John XIII, the archbishop of Mentz did not dare to install him, until the Bohemians, abandoning the Greek, had adopted the Latin ritual. They obtained, indeed, by a deputation, after a struggle of ten years, the indulgence to have divine service again performed in their own language; yet it was but of short duration. Nevertheless, they maintained by force their freedom, which the popes either refused to allow them of their own good-will, or soon divested them of, until the year 1350, when the emperor Charles IV, having changed the see of Prague into an archbishopric, founded an university there, which he furnished with professors from Germany and Italy, who, together with the Latin Liturgy, introduced the celibacy of the clergy, and the doctrine of transubstantiation; abolished the use of the cup, and persuaded, by degrees, the Bohemians of the first rank, who were not willing to forfeit all favour and preferments at court, into all the opinions and rites of the Romish church.

§ 4.

“ Yet, in the midst of all this, a right seed was still left \*.  
 “ For, just in the right time, when the purity of the Greek  
 “ church, both in doctrine and in worship, was daily de-

\* These are the words of *Paul Stranfsky*, de Repub. Bohem. p. 272.

“ *gliaing*

## 16 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part I.

“clining even among the people; the Waldenses, in  
 “1176, arrived in Bohemia, and settled at *Satz* and *Laun*  
 “on the river Eger. These joined those Bohemians, who  
 “were still tenacious of the rites of the Greek church.  
 “They showed them the defects of their religious exer-  
 “cises; and introduced among them a purer knowledge  
 “of the doctrines of the Christian faith, according to the  
 “word of God. By this means the upright were confirmed  
 “in the faith, and such as were fallen asleep, again  
 “awakened.”

These ancient Christians (who, besides the several names of reproach given them, were at length denominated *Waldenses*, from one of their most eminent teachers *PETER WALDUS*, who is said to have emigrated with the rest from France into Bohemia, and there to have died) date their origin from the beginning of the fourth century; when one *Leo*, at the great revolution in religion under *Constantine the Great*, opposed the innovations of *Sylvester*, bishop of Rome, Nay, *Rieger* goes farther still, taking them for the remains of the people of the *Vallies*, who, when the Apostle *Paul*, as is said, made a journey over the Alps into Spain, were converted to Christ\*.

According to the testimony of others, they came originally from Armenia into Bulgaria. There they had a patri-

\* The testimony of their enemies themselves seems to corroborate this conjecture.

*Sancho Resperus*, an apostate, and persecutor of the Waldenses in the thirteenth century, writes, “Amongst all sects, none is more  
 “pernicious than that of the *Poor of Lyons* (which is another de-  
 “nomination of the Waldenses) for three reasons: 1. Because  
 “it is the most ancient. Some aver their existence from the  
 “days of *Sylvester*, others, from the very time of the Apostles.  
 “2. Because it is so universal; for there is hardly a country into  
 “which this sect has not crept. 3. Because all others render  
 “themselves detestable by their blasphemies; but this has a  
 “great appearance of godliness, they living a righteous life  
 “before men, believing right concerning God, confessing all  
 “the articles of the creed, only hating the pope of Rome, &c.”

arch

arch, by whom their elders, in other countries, were ordained, and of whom they asked counsel. Thus, they also, in part, owe their origin to the Greek church. Be that as it may, historians are unanimous in this, that they have been the most ancient witnesses of the truth, against the rising and prevailing abuses; that they spread, and maintained themselves, notwithstanding the very numerous and cruel persecutions, in all christian countries; kept up the succession of the episcopal ordination, if not in a direct line from the apostles themselves, yet from the time of, and through, *Claudius*, bishop of *Turin*, in the ninth century, and proved in a great measure instrumental in promoting the reformation.

These united Waldenses and Bohemians held, in many places, their private, and, in others, public meetings; sent missions from Bohemia to England, Hungary, to the margraviate of Brandenburg, Pomerania, &c.; assisted their suffering Brethren of the Waldenses in their distress, and supplied them with ministers from the seminary of their Brethren in Italy, whither, as to an university, they sent their youth from Bohemia. This continued above two hundred years, till 1391, when, being discovered through the imprudence of two of their preachers, they were cruelly persecuted, and, for the most part, dispersed abroad in the adjacent countries. Yet many witnesses of the truth remained in Bohemia; who, not only in private, but in the churches and schools, and in the very court-chapel at Prague, testified against the corruption in doctrine and practice, which now broke in more and more like a torrent; to which they were farther greatly encouraged by the writings of Wickliffe, brought from England by the young noblesse who studied there.

### § 5.

THE most distinguished person among these witnesses of the truth was JOHN HUSS. He was born in the village of *Hussinetz*, 1373, took his master's degree, and was made a

## 18 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part I.

professor at the age of twenty years; and in 1400, minister at the *Bethlehem-church*, which had, just before, been erected by a citizen of Prague, purely for preaching in the Bohemian tongue. He was also confessor to Sophia, queen of Bohemia. Upon the German professors and students withdrawing from thence in great numbers, through vexation at the infringement by king *Wenceslaus*, of the privileges granted them by Charles IV; he was preferred to the rectorship of the university at Prague. He defended Wickliffe's tenets, preached both against the vices of the clergy and all other orders and degrees, and against the shameful traffic with indulgences, grounding his doctrine upon the Holy Scriptures, the example of Christ, and the concurrence of the primitive church. On this account, he was summoned to appear at Rome; and, upon his refusal, an interdict of all divine service was laid upon the city. To obviate the tumult this interdict might occasion among the people, he retired from the city, and preached every where in the country; until, having received a summons to make his defence before the council, and being furnished with safe-conduct from the emperor *Sigismund*, he went to *Constance*. Here the bishops accused him of heresy, but without being able to convict him. He, however, received sentence of death, and on the 6th of July 1415, finished his life at the stake, as a martyr, singing hymns of praise, and showing extraordinary constancy and cheerfulness.

His colleague, *Jerom of Prague*, who, having, out of love to the truth, followed him, without either summons or safe-conduct, had, at the first shock, denied the truth, but maintained it with the greater firmness and triumph afterwards; suffered, on the 30th of May 1416, the same death, with a cheerfulness which his enemies themselves admired.

### § 6.

OF this injustice, and of the indignity offered to their nation, the Bohemians complained to the council, in a protest,

protest, executed by the university and all the states. But, having met with no redress, and being rather treated as heretics, they renounced the papal authority, and, upon the death of king *Wenceslaus*, refused to recognise the emperor *Sigismund* as their king.

This gave rise to the so-called *Hussite war*, carried on by the enraged Bohemians under the command of *John de Trautenau*, surnamed *Ziska*, three years, and still ten years after his death, with almost incredible victories over the emperor, and their neighbours who were stirred up to enter upon a crusade; and with inhuman cruelties on both sides. They themselves were not agreed in their tenets. The most eminent and powerful persons amongst them, together with the learned men of Prague, contended properly about the restitution of the cup in the sacrament only, and were from thence denominated CALIXTINES, or also, *the Masters of Prague*. Many, who, from the very first aimed at a purer doctrine and worship, and for the greater security performed divine service upon a mountain, which *Ziska* fortified afterwards for his camp, and called TABOR, got the name of TABORITES. Among these were many of *Huss's* genuine followers, who were persecuted by the Calixtines themselves. Upon the death of *Ziska*, they divided themselves again, according to the diversity of their opinions and views, into *Calixtines*, *Taborites*, and *Orphans*; and such as, with a distinguished zeal, urged an entire reformation, were termed *Zealots*. But, in times of distress, they all united against their common enemies, who, being not able to carry their point against them, granted their deputies at the council of Basil, in 1433, the terms contained in the following four articles, bearing the name of *The Bohemian Compactata*, or terms of agreement.

1. The Word of God shall be freely preached by able ministers, according to the Holy Scriptures, without any human inventions.

2. The Lord's supper shall be administered unto all in both kinds, and divine worship performed in the mother-tongue.

3. Open sins shall be openly punished, according to the law of God, without respect of persons.

4. The clergy shall exercise no worldly dominion, but preach the gospel.

In every other point the deputies showed all submission, and were esteemed good children.

Yet many of the people were dissatisfied with this concession of liberty, the second article of which only took place; and renewed the war under *Procopius*, commander of the Taborites. But they were totally routed and dispersed by the Calixtines, who, by the advice of their deputy *Rokyzan*, had contented themselves with the cup.

#### § 7.

THIS *Rokyzan*, in hopes of being made archbishop of Prague, was gained over at the council of Basil to be contented with the cup, and in all other points to keep the Bohemians to the church of Rome, and to its doctrine and rites. He was, accordingly, elected archbishop, in 1435, upon the demise of the archbishop *Conrad Westphal*, who, as early as 1422, on laying down his office, had erected a consistory of four *Calixtine* priests. But, the investiture having been denied him, till he would renounce the afore-said compactata, and give up the cup, it seemed as if he would undertake an entire reformation of the church; and, both in doctrine and church-government, act no longer according to the compactata, but to the rule of the apostles, and the pattern of the primitive church. To this he was farther encouraged by some of his most upright hearers; who could not acquiesce in a mixed worship of God, but were determined to follow the doctrine and example of the late Hús. At the diet in 1450, he prevailed upon the states to send a deputation to *Constantinople*, to solicit a re-union



union with the Greek church. This church received the deputies with joy, promising them, in an answer written by their patriarch *Nicomedes*, dated January the 18th, 1451, to consecrate their bishops. But this hope vanished, by the Turks taking Constantinople two years after, and thus putting an end to the Greek empire. Rokyzan was solicited several times, and in the most pressing manner, by the genuine followers of Hufs, with his sister's son *Gregory* at their head, to enter upon an entire reformation, and a salutary church-discipline. This *Gregory* is represented in the *History of the Bohemian Persecution*, as a kind of founder and patriarch of the *Unity of the Brethren*. Rokyzan confirmed them in their laudable intention; yet believed, that there was no such thing as thinking of a reformation among the promiscuous multitude of the Calixtines; advising them rather to establish a community among themselves, and to edify one another from the word of God, and other profitable books, some of which he gave them at the same time. But they were desirous of having him, as the head of the Bohemian church, for their counsellor and guide, in order to obviate the appearance of a schism. This, however, did not seem to suit him, fearing he might hazard his character, if not his archbishopric, in an enterprise of this kind: therefore he, at first, gave them his advice to be still, and not precipitate; and at length peremptorily refused it in terms very severe and cutting. Nevertheless, he obtained for them permission of the regent *George Podiebrad*, to withdraw to the king's domain, in the lordship of *Lititz*, near *Leutamischel*, on the boundary between Silesia and Moravia, which domain had been laid waste by the ravages of war; to settle there, and regulate their divine worship according to their own insight and conscience.

THE  
ANCIENT HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRETHREN.

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PART II.

*The Formation, Extension, and Persecution of the Church of the Brethren, to the Time of the Reformation by Luther.*

§ 8.

THUS, about the year 1453, some families of the citizens of Prague, and also gentry and learned men of this and other places, repaired to the lordship of *Lititz*, and made use of the ministry of some of the Calixtine ministers, in whom they reposed a confidence, especially *Michael Bradazius*, minister of the town of *Zamberg*. These abolished many superfluous ceremonies, and restored the decayed church-discipline, not suffering any one to receive the holy communion, who had not first undergone their examination, and been declared fit for it. Of this they were accused by the neighbouring ministers before the consistory; who forbade them to preach, and administer the holy communion, and placed others in their room. The Brethren, being condemned by these ministers in all their sermons, absented



absented themselves from the churches, made their remonstrance to *Rokyzan* and his suffragan *Lupacius*, and begged for an examination. The former sent them away as they came; but the latter advised them to edify each other in stillness, to chuse their ministers from among themselves, and to introduce good discipline and order. The same advice they received from other well disposed ministers of the Calixtines, who, on that very account, were forced to incur some share of the Brethren's reproach and persecution.

They followed this advice, and took Michael Bradazius, who repaired to them at *Kunewald*, for their minister. He, with his assistants in other villages, under the direction of Gregory, met in 1457, in a conference; in which, according to the light they then had, they formed their church-fellowship among themselves, not upon the plan of the fore-mentioned *Compactata*, or upon that of other privileges and rules of men, but upon the rules and the law of Christ. Hence, in the beginning, they denominated themselves *Fratres Legis Christi*, or, *Brethren of the Law of Christ*.

But, as this gave occasion to less intelligent persons, to look upon them as some new monastic order; they, dropping this name, stiled themselves simply, *Fratres*, or, *Brethren*; and, being afterwards joined by many other Brethren of like disposition with themselves in Bohemia, *Unitas Fratrum*, *The Unity of the Brethren*, or, *Fratres Unitatis*, *The United Brethren*; and, at same time, bound themselves to a stricter church-discipline, resolved to suffer all things for conscience sake, and, instead of defending themselves, as the so-called *Hussites* had done, by force of arms, to defend themselves by prayer and reasonable remonstrances against the rage of their enemies.

## § 9.

BEFORE three years had elapsed, they were called to prove in fact *what manner of spirit they were of*. For, as not only many sincere souls out of the whole empire repaired to them, but also little flocks of Brethren sprung up every where in Bohemia and Moravia, and joined them; they were stigmatised both by Calixtine and Romish priests, not only as heretics, but as secret sowers of sedition. Charged with forming a dangerous state within the state, and with an intention to renew the Taborite tumults, which were scarcely laid, and even to seize the government, they were summoned to appear before the consistory at Prague. Rokyzan, though the very adviser of the steps they had taken, for fear of diminishing his credit and character, durst not patronise them; but upbraided them with an inconsiderate schism, and with extending themselves abroad in a rash and headlong manner; which could end in nothing but popular tumults. George Podiebrad, though far from being disinclined towards them, neither would, nor could, protect them against the rage of their incensed enemies. For, upon the decease of king Ladislaus in his minority, in the year 1458, having been elected king, and having by his coronation-oath promised to extirpate the heretics; he was under a necessity to consent to a persecution of the Brethren, that he might not altogether break his word, and that the *Calixtines*, by whose interest he had ascended the throne, might be screened.

Thus the first bloody persecution against the united Brethren in Moravia and Bohemia took place. They were declared unworthy of the common rights of subjects; and, in the depth of winter, turned out of the cities and villages, with the forfeiture of all their effects. The sick were cast out into the open fields, where many perished with hunger and cold. They threw them into prisons, with a view to extort from them, by hunger, cold, racks, and tortures, a confession of seditious designs, and an impeachment of their accomplices. And, when nothing could be extorted from them, they were maimed on hands and feet, dragged inhumanly

manly at the tails of horses or carts, and quartered, or burnt alive. Many died in the prisons, and such as survived, were at last, when no crime could be proved against them, discharged in the most pitiable condition; the consistory having issued a command, that the Lord's supper should be administered to none but with the ceremonies in use among the Calixtines, and especially not to the *Picards*\*, (an invidious name the Brethren were stigmatised with) under pain of death.

§ 10.

DURING this persecution, the Brethren in Lititz did not cease to send to all places, to strengthen the persecuted in the faith, and to exhort them to patience. Among others, *Gregory*, *Rokyzan's* nephew, came to Prague; but, upon his having just held a meeting, he was surprised on a sudden, and, together with some others, committed to prison by the judge or justice, with these affecting words, "*It is written, all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution; therefore, follow me, by command of the higher powers!*" Under the rack he fell into a swoon; during which, it is said, he had a vision of the three men, who were, six years after, elected the first bishops of the Brethren. They appeared as the guardians of a blooming tree, on the fruits of which many lovely singing birds were feeding. Every one supposed him dead; at the news of which his uncle *Rokyzan*, hastening with all speed to the prison, lamented over him in these words: "O my dear *Gregory*, I wish to God I was where thou art!"

These words gave the Brethren reason to believe he was not yet quite devoid of grace; which, after they had again

\* So the Waldenses from France were named; either from the principal district of their residence, *Picardy*, or from a certain *Begehord*, charged with the abomination of the Adamites.

obtained rest, caused them to address themselves to him with the request, that, as the first divine of the kingdom, in whom the states had reposed the care and concern for the salvation of the Bohemians, he would be pleased to engage in a true reformation, or, if this were as yet impracticable, that he would, to obviate the appearance of any schism, at least, take upon himself the direction of their affairs. He gave them a courteous answer, acknowledged their cause to be good and laudable; but believed, that, in such dregs of time, when all goodness was slandered, his credit and counsel would be of little avail to them, but might prove a detriment to him, and draw upon him the indignation of the world. When they, therefore, had seen, by more such fruitless attempts, that he *loved the praise of men more than the praise of God*; they, at length, gave him quite up, lest they might fall with him into the ditch, with ~~some~~ awful words in their farewell-letter, "*Thou art of the world, and wilt perish with the world.*" This enraged him to such a degree, that he incensed the king against them afresh. But the bishop of Breslaw dissuaded him from the bloody persecution, saying, that "maggots grow in meat half-roasted." He meant, that martyrdom increases the number of heretics. Therefore, he only ordered them to be sought after, and driven out of the country. This obliged them to conceal themselves in mountains and woods; in which solitude and wilderness it was, that, after they had given up all hopes of a thorough reformation, they were intent upon settling a Christian church-discipline among themselves, and providing faithful ministers and overseers.

## § II.

To this end they first chose out of their own number, by a majority of votes, certain elders, to whom they committed the management and direction of all their affairs, and solemnly engaged to be in all things obedient to them.

them. These, as exigencies required, invited the most considerable among the Brethren dispersed in Bohemia and Moravia to come to them; and in several synods agreed upon certain statutes respecting their behaviour and conduct towards each other, towards other men, and towards the supreme and inferior magistrates. They regulated the divine service, appointed days of fasting and prayer, and conferred mutually concerning the doctrine of, and regulations in, their congregations. But they were, in a particular manner, not a little embarrassed and concerned about the ministerial office, and its succession, in case the ministers they now had from the Calixtines should become extinct, and none, out of love to the truth, join them afresh. This subject was treated particularly at the celebrated synod of *Lhota* in 1467. Here they came to a resolution of supplying the ministerial office out of their own number. They first chose twenty, and out of these, nine persons, of whom they would appoint three by lot for the ministry. Therefore they wrote the word *EST*, *It is he*, (*viz.* whom the Lord chuses) upon three slips of paper, and left nine of the same, blanks. They prayed in simplicity, that God, should he please to appoint them none as yet, or, peradventure, none of these nine persons, for ministers, would cause all the nine persons to draw the nine blanks; and, in case he should have appointed one, or two, or three, to this end, he would condescend to signify which they were, by the inscribed slips of paper. Hereupon they called in a little boy, who was to give into the hands of each of the nine Brethren one of the twelve slips of paper, which had been mixed together. The three inscribed with *EST* fell to *Matthias of Kunewald*, *Thomas of Prschelauz*, and *Elias of Krschenow*. These were received by all the Brethren with joy and songs of praise, as teachers given them of God; to whom they also promised faithful obedience, by giving them their hands, and by the kiss of peace.

## § 12.

SOON after, at another synod, they discussed the question, Whether an ordination made by a presbyter without a bishop was valid, or not? And, from the account given us by *Regenwolschius*, they decided it in this manner. According to the example of the apostles, there was no difference between the elders or presbyters, and the bishops; but, in Jerom's opinion, the divisions arising from the presbyters attaching themselves to him who ordained them, more than to the rest, gave rise to an unanimous determination of placing one presbyter over all the rest, in order to prevent an attachment to one or another, from whence parties might arise; consequently, that they could be satisfied with ministers who were only ordained by presbyters. However, to put it out of the adversaries power to dispute the validity of their office, they would seek to obtain an episcopal ordination.

Now, as the Waldenses traced the succession of their bishops from the apostolic times, they dispatched three of their priests already ordained (amongst whom *Michael of Zamberg* is mentioned) into Austria, to *Stephen*, bishop of the Waldenses; who, rejoiced at the account of the Brethren's emigration and regulations, laid before them, in presence of the elders, the rise and progress, the various vicissitudes, and the episcopal succession of the Waldenses, and consecrated them, with the assistance of his co-bishop and the rest of the clergy, bishops of the Brethren's church. These, on their return, at another synod, ordained presbyters; first, the three men chosen by lot, and then one of them, viz. *Matthias of Kunewald*, a fourth bishop, appointing ten co-bishops or con-seniors from amongst the rest of the presbyters.

## § 13.

THEY, moreover, took it into consideration, whether they should not unite, and make one church, with the  
Waldenses,

Waldenses, with the purity of whose doctrine, and piety of life, they were well pleased? Against this they had only one scruple remaining, which was, that the Waldenses did not make an open confession of the truth, and, to avoid persecution, conformed to some ceremonies which they acknowledged to be wrong. They sent a new deputation to admonish them on this account, and then to offer them their fellowship. The bishops and elders of the Waldenses owned and confessed their declension from the purity of their fathers, promised amendment, and embraced their offer of church-fellowship with joy. A rare example of a community, which, by manifold deviations, was tending towards its destruction, confessing their faults, and accepting the assistance proffered them! But, before this union could be effected, the design was betrayed by the means of some who had no mind for an amendment. This gave occasion to a violent persecution, during which many, and among them their last bishop *Stephen*, were burnt alive. The rest were scattered abroad, and fled, mostly, to their Brethren in the margraviate of Brandenburg. From these parts a weaver was come into Bohemia some years before, and had been received into the Brethren's church. Upon his return, he gave the rest of the Waldenses an account of the Brethren. When, therefore, in the year 1480, a great persecution arose even here; both these, and the other Waldensian refugees out of Austria, retreated to the Brethren in the territory of Landskron and Lititz, and some to *Fulneck* in Moravia\*, whereby their churches obtained the first considerable increase.

Both this reception and the ordination caused the Brethren to be denominated *Waldenses*, which name they, how-

\* It seems as if *Fulneck* in Moravia, as well as *Lititz* and the lordship of *Landskron* in Bohemia, was a chief seat of the Brethren. And the present Brethren from Moravia come from villages about *Fulneck*, where *Comenius* was minister; in the same manner as the Bohemians sprang mostly from the territory of *Landskron*.

## 90 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part II.

ever, carefully declined in their apologies, for several reasons alleged in the history of the Bohemian persecution.

### § 14.

No sooner was the rumour spread abroad of the Brethren's having now obtained their own ministry, and the episcopal ordination; but, at Rokyzan's instigation, at the diet in 1468, a bloody edict was issued out against them, and read from all the pulpits; wherein they were declared outlaws, and an injunction laid upon the states of each district, to take up and punish the Picards at pleasure. During this persecution, in which *Michael*, their first bishop, was put in prison, where he was kept till the death of the king; the yet surviving Brethren saw themselves under the necessity of keeping close, retreating into the thickest woods, and (to escape being detected even there) of hiding by day in the holes and clefts of the rocks. To prevent their being discovered by the smoke, they made no fire but by night, at which they read their bibles, and prayed. When it had snowed hard, and they were forced to go out through the deep snow in quest of their support, they went one behind the other, and the last dragged a bush after him in order to fill up and hide the track. From these caves and pits they got afterwards the nick-name of *Jamnici*, or *Grubenheimer* (in German), that is, persons who dwelt in caves.

The more they fought to refute their adversaries, and to bring them into a better way of thinking, by apologies addressed to the consistory, to the king, and at length to all the states; the more were these irritated and incensed to continue the persecution, till God himself put a period to it in 1471, by the death of king Podiebrad, and the end of Rokyzan, who died in despair.

### § 15.



## § 15.

UNDER their new king *Uladislaus* from Poland, they, for the most part, enjoyed peace. The adversaries, indeed, attempted at the very beginning to incense him against the Brethren; but their apologies had so good an effect upon this gracious sovereign, that he left them undisturbed. Therefore, in 1476, the adversaries planned their attack in another way, by stirring up the people to sedition, and thereby forcing the king to a persecution. A wicked wretch was suborned to give out that, having been a senior, or elder, among the Picards, but separated from them by remorse of conscience, and returned to the orthodox church, he would now, as an evidence of the reality of his conversion, detect their mystery of iniquity. That they, for instance, uttered in their private meetings not only erroneous, but blasphemous things, vilified the sacraments, practised impurities and sorcery, and assassinated people, in order to seize upon their substance, whereby they had amassed a great treasure.

Now, as books were not yet printed in those days, they carried this man about into the churches in many cities, where he was obliged to do penance, under a solemn show of sanctity, relate those errors and abominations, recommend himself to the intercession of the faithful, and warn them against all intercourse with the Picards. And where they could not bring him, there they sent depositions signed and sealed by many witnesses, and ordered them, together with an annexed paternal warning of the most considerable ministers, to be read from the pulpits; insomuch, that now no apologies of the Brethren made any farther impression, and they awaited with resignation the most furious persecution of the people; when this fellow, wearied out with being thus dragged about, confessed, that he had suffered himself to be over-persuaded and bribed into this calumination of the Picards, of whom he knew nothing at all.

In

## § 15. ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part II.

IN the mean time, some persons of sense, who were desirous of coming at the truth of the affair, had privately visited the meetings of the Brethren, and, finding the direct contrary of what was given out, joined their community. Thus, when the adversaries saw, that, by this flagrant imposition, they had done the Brethren more good than harm; they, thinking to trepan them in a more subtle way, appointed, in 1479, under the pretext of an union, a conference with them in the *Caroline College* at Prague, the issue of which, however, was fruitless.

### § 16.

YET did they not let their courage sink. In 1481, the Brethren were banished Moravia, which, together with Lusatia and Silesia, *Matthias*, king of Hungary, had seized upon at the decease of *Podiebrad*. Many of them, under the conduct of *Nicholas Slansky*, one of their ministers, who was followed, two years after, by the con-senior *Elias Krfschenowsky*, or of *Krfschenow*, (§ 11.) emigrated through Hungary and Transilvania into Moldavia, where they met with a kind reception from the hospodar *Stephen*; but, upon the calm that ensued in Moravia, they, through a disgust at the savageness and superstitious customs of the Moldavians, returned after six years to their own country.

Not one of the writers of the Bohemian Brethren's history gives us any farther account of these exiles. Yet *Henry Milde*, in an *Observation on Dr. Luther's Lesser Catechism*, p. 75. acquaints us, that the late *Balthazar Frank*, minister of the Lutheran church at *Moscow*, on his second visit to the Lutherans in the kingdoms of *Casan* and *Astracan*, in the company of *Justus Samuel Schaarfschmidt* of *Quedlinburg*, in the year 1709, crossed the Caspian sea, and arrived at the city of *Terek*, not far from the mountains of *Caucasus*; "on which mountains (to render his words from the Latin) the posterity of the Bohemian Brethren, who, during the time of the persecution in 1488 (or rather 1481), had come thither

" thither by way of Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and the Turkish empire, have built three very large villages." Now Camerarius relates, that the Brethren, having seen that they could not prove a blessing to the savage inhabitants, and king Matthias, on conviction of their innocence, having recalled them, came back to Moravia; and that, a few years after, Moldavia, and especially the places where the Brethren had dwelt, were laid waste by the barbarians, and many persons carried into captivity. On the supposition that not all the Brethren returned at once into Moravia, but waited to be first ascertained, whether the toleration offered them by Matthias was to be depended upon, or not? and if we add what several Moravian Brethren, who are yet living, have heard from their fathers, viz. that many of their ancestors having fled into Moldavia, part of them came back, but part went into Asia, and it is not known what became of them: we may, then, throw some light upon the account concerning the Bohemians on the mountains of Caucasus, thus: that the Tartars, having met with some remains of the Brethren in Moldavia, led them away prisoners, and granted them a district on the mountains, where they might settle\*.

# § 17.

AMIDST the troubles of war in Moravia, the Brethren in Bohemia had a calm for a season. *Neglecti sunt miseri fratres*, says Regenvolscius, lib. ii. cap. 8. (that is, *The poor Brethren were neglected*) But an unfortunate schism among themselves, from whence sprang afterwards the Anabaptists in Moravia and Hungary, brought a new per-

\* The Brethren have lately obtained several particulars concerning these *Tschebs* at mount Caucasus, as they call themselves (and thus all the Bohemians call themselves too;) but cannot communicate them, until they shall be better convinced of their authenticity.

### 34 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part II.

secution upon them. For, whereas these who maintained, that a christian could not, with a good conscience, discharge the functions of a magistrate, and wield the sword; in the heat of the controversy, inadvertently and ignorantly charged the rest of the Brethren with the holding it no sir to defend themselves by open force of arms; the adversaries, laying hold on this groundless insinuation, persuaded the king in 1503, that it was his incumbent duty to extirpate these fomentors of rebellion, who would, otherwise, soon be acting Ziska's part over again. Many of the states, however, protested against it, avowing the Brethren's innocence, and their own regret to banish and massacre the best of their subjects. Nevertheless, the adversaries, after the Brethren's patrons were set out from the diet, got the edict to be signed. But the king, by their apology, was again induced to another way of thinking, and formed a resolution of bringing about an union between them and the Calixtines, by means of a public conference with the university and the consistory of Prague. But, as a great number of people desired to be present, to whom the antagonists, should they be foiled, did not like to expose themselves; this discussion was first put off from time to time, and afterwards, under various pretences, entirely dropped.

#### § 18.

THE adversaries, however, tho' they had no hopes of convicting the Brethren of error in an open conference, were not quiet. For, partly by all sorts of slanders, partly by the proffer of a large loan, and partly by tampering with the queen, whom, in case of her not complying with their designs, they had terrified with the judgments of God, and, she being pregnant, with an unfortunate labour, they wrought so upon the king, that in 1506 he set his sign manual to a new and severe edict; at the signing of which, they say, the king prayed to God, in his private apartment, for forgiveness,

giveness, and that he would bring these bloody devices against innocent persons to nought. His prayer was heard. For the execution of this edict was stopped by the queen's unfortunate delivery, when king *Lewis*, who proved afterwards so unhappy, was obliged to be cut out of her womb; and her blood-thirsty counsellors, who, at the convention of all the states, *sub una et sub utraque*\*, in 1508, attempted to obtrude this edict, as a fundamental statute of the empire, but to no purpose; yet in 1510, by all the arts of knavery, had it registered; came soon afterwards to a dreadful end.

### § 19.

ALTHOUGH, amidst these persecutions, many were intimidated, and fell off, yet more were driven away, and put to death, or perished in prisons, and in extreme distress. The congregations of the Brethren, however, were hereby not diminished, but spread the more; insomuch that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, they counted already two hundred Brethren's congregations in Bohemia and Moravia. About this time also many learned men and priests of the Calixtines, and several counts, barons, and some of the noblesse joined them†, who in their cities and villages built them meeting-houses, because the Calixtines were in possession of all the churches, and cramped the Brethren every where. They, moreover, took care to have the bible translated into the Bohemian tongue, and printed at *Venice*; in which, as *Comenius* writes, they were again the first amongst all the

\* Both of those who received the communion in the manner of the church of Rome, and of these who received it in both kinds. (The Editor.)

† How they came upon this, and what their inducement was, they themselves acquaint us in the preface to their confession, presented to the emperor in 1535. which may be seen in the second Volume of the *Bucdingen Collections of certain Papers relating to Church-History*, p. 594—610. together with a parallel drawn between them and the present Brethren.

other nations of Europe. And, because the copies met with a quick sale, they procured two new editions of it to be printed at Nuernberg; till they had set up three printing-presses of their own, at Prague, at Bunzlau in Bohemia, and at Kralitz in Moravia, where in the beginning they printed nothing else but Bohemian bibles.

With this bible, which was a translation of the Vulgate, they contented themselves for an hundred years; until, at the expence of baron Sherotin, and under the inspection of bishop John Aeneas and his assistants, a new translation from the original text could be undertaken; which was published in six parts, from the year 1579 to 1593; and having been revised and furnished with useful annotations by bishop Zacharias Arifson, passed a second edition.

### § 20.

THE most and the fiercest persecutions arose from the Calixtines; who, excepting the cup at the communion, seem to have been but little different from the Romish church. For, after the death of Rokyzan, they sent their priests for ordination into Italy, where they were forced to act the hypocrite in a scandalous manner, giving themselves out for Romish clergy, and to renounce the *Compactata* \*.

The cause of this hatred was, that the Brethren had separated from them, and, by a purer doctrine and form of worship, supported by a better life, put them to shame; that they constituted separate congregations; had their own ministry, and would neither be in subjection to, nor unite with, them. For the king, being intent upon bringing about a religious peace between the Roman Catholics and the Calixtines, when the latter were to have the *compactata*

\* For some time two bishops from Italy, who had retired into Bohemia, ordained their priests. Afterwards, some, who could not act the hypocrite so flagrantly, travelled even into Armenia, where they obtained ordination.

and church-privileges confirmed to them by the pope; it was put off from time to time, under pretence of discord reigning among the Bohemians themselves, and because they tolerated the *Waldenses* or *Picards* among them. Therefore they endeavoured to draw the Brethren over to their party by mild treaties and conferences; and, when they could effect nothing in this way, to compel them to it by coercive measures, or even to extirpate them. To obtain their end, they, amongst other means, made use of the writings of their adversaries, all of which were grounded on an inquisition, set up against the Brethren at *Glatz* in 1480; wherein the adversaries had either misunderstood, or wrested and perverted their expressions. The Brethren had, for instance, answered, that the modes of worship might be different, provided they were not against the rules given us by Christ and his Apostles; and that they would then prove no hindrance to our salvation. Thus, they drew this conclusion from it, The Brethren believe that all heretics may be saved. Again they had said, that we must be patient under sufferings, and not resist evil, even though the Turks inflicted it upon us. Therefore, said the adversaries, the Brethren look upon the war against the Turks to be sin, &c. Would they screen themselves under apologies, and submit to an examination; it was then asserted, that the *Waldenses* and *Picards*, whose doctrine they had adopted, had been long ago condemned: that they themselves had been examined, and found erroneous, what further need had they of witnesses? had they it not out of their own mouths?

§ 21.

THUS were the Brethren forced to submit to every kind of sufferings, as they could not avoid it, without giving up the truth in some degree, and intermixing with a corrupt promiscuous multitude, to their own detriment,

But as they would, nevertheless, have gladly avoided the appearance of a schism from other churches; therefore, in 1474, supported by their worldly patrons, and especially *baron Postupitz*, they sent four deputies with a passport from the king, to examine into the state of christianism, in order to see if there were any where a living church to be met with, free from errors and superstition, and regulated according to Christ's plan and rule, with which they might unite? The co-bishop *Lucas* went into Greece and Dalmatia; *Maurus Kokowetz* into Moscovia, Scythia, and other Slavonian countries; *Martin Kabatnik* into Palestine and Egypt; and *Caspar Marchicus* to Constantinople and into Thrace. These being returned, and having no where found what they sought, they, in the same view, sent in 1489 the co-bishop *Lucas* and *Thomas Germanus* to Rome, and into Italy and France. These, it is true, met with many souls fighting in stillness, especially the Waldenses, and saw several burnt alive for the truth; but found no where a congregation which they could join, to avoid all appearance of a schism. They, therefore, formed at a synod the well-known conclusion, "That, if God should, any where in the world, awaken genuine ministers, and reformers of the church, they would make a common cause with them."

## § 22.

Now, when *Erasmus* of Rotterdam, whose aim was at least to bring about a reformation in literature and school-divinity, began to be celebrated, they in 1511 sent him the confession which they had presented in the year 1508 to king *Uladislaus*, with a request to examine it, and, either, to teach them better, or, should he find it consistent with the word of God, to befriend them with his testimony. He approved of it, and advised them to carry on their cause in stillness, as hitherto: but excused himself, on account of the



the multiplicity of his occupations, from such an examination of it, as it required; alledging withal, that by his testimony, instead of delivering *them* from the imputation of error in the opinion of their adversaries, he should only endanger himself, and render his own writings suspected, which were read with benefit by many.

Now, though Erasmus made a scruple of giving the Brethren a public testimony, which might probably have been but of little use to them; yet he, occasionally, described them to their advantage; especially in his preface to the New Testament, and in a candid answer to John Schlechta, who had given him an horrible picture of the Brethren.

## § 23.

DURING this period many among the Brethren were of opinion, that, in order to ward off the objection of a schism, and the imputation, as if they looked upon themselves to be the only church in which salvation was to be obtained; and at length to put an end to the persecutions; they might, without scruple, comply with the king's command, in uniting with the Calixtines: because there were, however, faithful ministers among them, who preached the word of God in its sincerity and purity, lived as christians, and were well disposed towards the Brethren. They also hoped by this means to gain an entrance among them, and to have an opportunity of leading many simple, upright souls farther into the knowledge of the gospel. But, since their eldest and most experienced ministers, who had been persecuted and banished by the Calixtines on account of the purity of their doctrine, apprehended that the love of their own members might wax cold, the discipline of the church decline, and the ruin of their congregations ensue from thence; they deliberated upon this proposal at the synod in 1486, and came to this decision in full synod; which, because it is,

at once, a specimen both of their love of peace, and of their abhorrence of an hypocritical syncretism, (indifference in matters of religion) I will here quote somewhat more circumstantially from Lasitius's Third Book.

“ If a minister be found in any other church, of pure doctrine and good morals, the faithful ought to thank God for it; yet not to join, or receive the sacraments from, him, for the following reasons: 1. Because there is danger in uniting with a church, which has been forsaken on account of its errors and abuses. 2. Because it may happen that this good minister may, at his death, not be succeeded by one of the same stamp. 3. Because such as leave their church, are under no proper rule in a community, where some direct, and others obey, but all remain in the unity of the spirit and of the body of Christ. 4. Because the faithful, who, by God's grace, have the spiritual blessings in abundance at home, cannot, without hazard, go in quest of them among strangers.”

“ But, in case there be many ministers in another church, who by right and good order are united among themselves, and feed the flock intrusted to their care with the pure word of God; the faithful should by no means despise them; yet they ought not to leave their own church-fellowship, and join them. but the elders of the church are to see, whether, in any way, they may be able to unite with them in one body. For in the church of Christ *all things must be done decently and in order.*”  
“ 1 Cor. xiv. 40.”

“ Should the elders find them excelling us in the necessary fundamental articles of the Christian religion, we ought to submit ourselves to, and learn of them. If they do not excel us; yet we are not to disdain and revile them, inasmuch as they possess the knowledge of the truth, and stand upon a sure foundation. But neither are we to join them, on account of defects, unknown to  
“ them,

“ them, but known to us; lest, through them, the purity of  
“ the doctrine amongst us, might be tainted. But yet, we  
“ ought to serve them in a brotherly manner, that they  
“ may come to a clearer knowledge of the light.”

“ Finally, we confess, that no collective body of people,  
“ how numerous soever, can be denominated, The Catholic  
“ (universal) church; that is, such as comprehends in it-  
“ self the entire number of the faithful, so, as if God had  
“ none of his elect out of it. But, where the only, Catho-  
“ lic, Christian faith is found in truth, as described by  
“ God in his word, in any part of Christendom, there is  
“ the holy Catholic church, out of the fellowship of which  
“ there is no hope of salvation.”

THE  
ANCIENT HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRETHREN.

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PART III.

*The Negotiations of the Brethren with the Reformers and their Successors, and their Spread in Prussia and Poland.*

§ 24.

**P**RECISELY one hundred years after the death of *Hufs*, God raised up *Luther* in Germany, for the reformation of the church\*. The Brethren, rejoiced at it, sent *John Horn* and *Michael Weifs* in 1523 to him, to congratulate him on the reformation, and to give him an account of their doctrine and constitution. He was hereby greatly encouraged, as he testifies in a letter to *Spalatin* and *Paul Speratus*. Though he had been prejudiced against them; yet, after a perusal of their writings, he was quite of ano-

\* Comenius, in his history, § 73, makes the following observation upon *Luther's* reformation. "About an hundred years after the decease of *John Hufs*, the prophecy of that holy martyr was fulfilled;" which, as he relates, was, "*An hundred years hence ye shall answer this unto God and me.*"

ther mind, and declared it publicly. This friendship met with some interruption, after the second deputation in 1524, when the Brethren conferred with him concerning the church-discipline; which ought to be introduced, to the want of which they attributed the withdrawing of many insincere people from their community, under the pretext that they could enjoy the gospel without any such close discipline. Then it was that Luther found sundry faults with them. But upon sending him their confession of faith, presented in 1532 to margrave *George of Brandenburg*, king *Lewis's* guardian; he had it printed in 1533 with a fine testimony; in which he plainly declares, that all his jealousy had subsided; and that they, notwithstanding the diversity of their church-usages, ceremonies, and expressions, belonged to one sheepfold. "For though I (writes he) do not know how to adopt the Brethren's way of expressing themselves: yet I will not over-hurry, or compel them to adopt mine; if we otherwise be and remain unanimous in the matter itself, &c." He also, in conjunction with *Melanchton*, in 1535 wrote to them, amongst other things, thus, "Since we are agreed in the principal articles of the Christian doctrine, let us receive one another in love; nor shall any difference of usages and ceremonies disunite our hearts." This in 1536 gave occasion to the third deputation to him, in order to treat with him about the introduction of a better church-discipline; which, however; according to his opinion, was not practicable at that time; when, to use his own expression, matters were still too raw, and he himself was too much overcharged with business, especially with the controversy against his antagonists.

Concerning this deputation, I find, in a manuscript marginal note to *Regenvolsius* (L. 1. c. xi. p. 57.) in our archives, and an apology of the Brethren against *Martinius*, the following anecdote. Many evil reports of the Protestants in Germany and Switzerland had, since the last deputation in 1524, found their way into Bohemia. The Brethren,

#### 44 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

Brethren, not chusing to give credit to them upon hearsay only, sent deputies into Germany and Switzerland to see every thing with their own eyes, and report how they found it. They staid a month at Wittenberg, in conference with Luther and Melancthon concerning church-discipline. Luther praised it, and exhorted them to maintain it. "I was" (said he) "under a necessity of pulling down the church-order which has obtained hitherto; because people have trusted in it: but I shall be extremely glad to set up another, lest the church be rent in pieces, but that it may be built up." When the Brethren lamented before him, that they, on account of their church-order and discipline, were slandered and vilified, as if they were sectarians and monks, he rejoined, "That they should not mind it: the world would always be foolish. Should he introduce such an order, the world would say the very same; the world ever had, and ever would have, some exceptions to make, &c."

In the year 1540 they dispatched their senior *John Augusta* to him; who, in company with *George Israel*, visited him for the last time in 1542, in order to confer with him about the introduction of a better church-discipline, for which other divines expressed a great desire. He owned the want and necessity of it, promising that, as soon as the state of the church should become more calm, he would set about it in good earnest\*. When they took leave, in presence of the rest of the professors, he gave them the right hand of brotherhood, with these words, "Be ye apostles of the Bohemians: I and mine will be apostles of the Germans, &c." He also wrote to *John Augusta* not long after, "I exhort you in the Lord to persevere with us unto

\* "But he, soon after, departed this life, leaving this important branch of the reformation in the hands of his successors; which was at last, amidst the wrangles which followed, either forgotten, or exclaimed against as needless and pernicious," as Salig attests in the 2d Part, Book VI. Chap. iii.

“ the end in the fellowship of the spirit and of doctrine, &c.” To say nothing, for brevity’s sake, of other testimonies, which may be seen in Lactius and Comenius, and in Sallig’s History of the Confession of Augsburg. (See also the Buedingen Collection, Vol. III. p. 568, *et seq.*)

§ 25.

WHILE these treaties were in agitation, the Waldenses in France had sent a deputation to the Brethren in Bohemia, to bewail unto them their pressures from without, and variations within; to beg counsel and comfort from, and renew fellowship with, them; which the Brethren, having examined their doctrine, complied with, admitting also these deputies, during their six months residence among them, to the holy communion. In the mean time the fame of the Brethren had reached even as far as *Straßburg*; from whence *Fabricius Capito* in 1533, and *Martin Bucer* in 1540, wrote letters to them, in order to make enquiry into their church-discipline. They, therefore, sent *Matthias Erythreus* to communicate to them an account of their doctrine and regulations, which delighted them to such a degree, that Bucer burst into tears, in presence of the other divines of *Straßburg*, and, amongst other testimonies, wrote to the Brethren as follows: “ I believe ye are the only people at this day, who, together with a pure doctrine, exercise a genuine and well-adapted discipline, which is not grievous, but profitable.”

It was here that *John Calvin*, then minister of the church of the French refugees at *Straßburg*, became acquainted with them; who, besides others of his colleagues, kept up a pretty constant epistolary correspondence with them, and, at the reformation of the church of Geneva, is said to have introduced several of their church-orders.

Thus were the Brethren led into an acquaintance and correspondence with both the great leaders of the reformation,

tion; without taking any part in their disputes, and thereby forfeiting their own jewel of a pure doctrine and apostolic church-discipline. They were loved and praised by them and their colleagues, and often set before their congregations, with great lamentations, and to their humiliation, as a pattern to them. Thus the reformers, without attacking the Brethren about their difference from them in non-essentials, or requiring an entire union with them, solicited and exhorted them to a communion in spirit with them and their followers.

## § 26.

HOWEVER, this very acquaintance drew another persecution upon them. For, when the Bohemians, in the Smalcaldic war, which broke out shortly after the death of *Luther* in 1546, refused to support the emperor *Charles V.* and their king *Ferdinand* against the Protestants, and, on that account, were accused of rebellion: the Brethren, in particular, were charged with having, by their frequent deputations to, and correspondence with, *Luther*, endeavoured to set the elector of Saxony upon the throne of Bohemia. On this account, the aforesaid *John Augusta*, with others, was committed to prison, and racked three times, to force a confession out of him; nor was he discharged from his confinement till sixteen years afterwards, on *Ferdinand's* death. The churches in some lordships were shut up, the ministers either taken up, or scattered, and the people commanded to join either the Romish church, or the *Calixtines*; or, in case of refusal, to quit the country within six weeks. Many lost all courage, and joined the *Calixtines*. Most of them emigrated, under the conduct of their bishop *Matthias Syn*, into Poland; and, being driven from thence likewise, into Prussia. Duke *Albert*, who had formerly offered them his country, gave them a ready reception; but, as some wanted to render them suspected as to their doctrine,



doctrine, he ordered them to pass an examination before five ministers. Upon their finding the Brethren's doctrine and confession of faith harmonious with the confession of Augsburg; a diploma was issued, dated the 19th of March 1549, whereby they were to enjoy the same civil privileges with other subjects, even though they retained their own church-discipline. The places allotted for their residence were Marienwerder, Neidenburg, Gardensee, Hohenstein, Gilsenburg, Soldau, and Koenigsberg.

The celebrated *Paul Speratus*, bishop of Pomesania, was very serviceable to them in this respect, and all true and worthy ministers rejoiced at their reception; so, that *Anthony Bodenstein*, minister at Marienwerder, where most of the Brethren had settled, at the close of an excellent testimony, wrote thus to Dr. *Brentius*: "I judge that this holy people  
" has been sent hither by God himself, that, through them,  
" others may be stirred up to enter into a more mature de-  
" liberation, how a remedy may be found out for the many  
" faults and defects in our church."

### § 27.

PRUSSIA was, at that time, brought into the utmost confusion by the debates set on foot by *Osiander*. The Brethren, it is true, kept themselves entirely out of them; but were, nevertheless, obliged, by command of the duke, to confer several times with *Osiander*, and deliver their sentiments upon it; which they did in a simple, plain, and impartial manner, importing that things of that nature ought not to be discussed, to the scandal of the whole church, in public controversial writings, but decided at a synod by discreet and pious men: and that, whoever would, afterwards, obstinately persist in his own opinion, against him the discipline of the church should be exercised. This had been the practice of the primitive church, and it was also their's.

However,

## 48 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

However, the Brethren were not suffered to remain entirely at rest. For when bishop *Laurentius* in 1561 came to *Thorn* at his visitation, he was questioned by the Lutheran minister there, *Benedict Morgenstern*, a turbulent man; who, on account of the debates with *Osiander*, had first been expelled the duchy of Prussia, and afterwards the city of *Dantzick* \*: Why the Brethren in that place, who pretended to agree to the Augustan confession, did not attend the Lutheran worship? He answered, "On account of the want of due discipline and order;" but promised, notwithstanding, to make his report to the Brethren. They, in consideration of the fellowship they had entered into with *Luther*, out of love to peace, and to avoid giving offence, disposed the Brethren at *Thorn* to attend the service of the ministers there, provided these, as far as were practicable, observed good discipline. They, moreover, sent *Laurentius*, together with some other deputies, in 1563, once more to *Thorn*; who, having before the whole council evinced the Brethren's innocence against *Morgenstern*, resigned their Brethren there to the Lutheran ministry. But as *Morgenstern*, chagrined at being convicted of injustice, still went on to preach and write against the Brethren; those who adhered to the Brethren left *Thorn* entirely; and *Morgenstern*, on account of other disturbances, was deposed and expelled by the magistracy of *Thorn*: but went on writing, and incensing the Lutheran congregations in Poland against the Brethren †, as will be seen hereafter.

But

\* *Lasitius* writes *Lib. VI.* that *Flacius Illyricus*, who began a controversy with the divines at *Wittenberg*, and drew many congregations over to his side, attempted by his emissaries to gain the Brethren in Poland likewise to his party. But that he, having met with a reprimand from them on account of his quarrels, became their enemy, and took pains to incense the Poles against them: That he succeeded with some of them in Prussia, and particularly with *Morgenstern*.

† Almost at this very time, in 1580, two antagonists of the Brethren appeared in Moravia, viz. *Dr. John Hederich*, Lutheran minister

But, upon the death of duke Albert of Prussia, a new body of divinity having been drawn up, and the Brethren being urged not only to subscribe to it, but also to abandon their own Bohemian pastors, their church-discipline and usages, and thus to renounce the Unity of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, or else, to quit the country; most of them chose the last, and emigrated in 1574 partly to Great Poland, and partly back again into their own country, Moravia; where the Brethren in 1566, by the advice of *Crato de Kraftheim*, physician to the emperor Maximilian II. to whom the Brethren had been recommended by him, as a church coming nearest to that of the apostles, had presented to the emperor their confession of faith, and their hymn-book, and obtained liberty of conscience.

§ 28.

BUT before we return to the Brethren in Moravia, we should see how the remnant of them in Poland were spread abroad; and how the Reformed first, at several synods, and afterwards the Lutherans too, came to an agreement with them in the celebrated *Consensus Sandomiriensis*. (Synodal Agreement of Sandomir.)

Various preparations towards a reformation had been made in Poland as early as the year 1440, by means of the refugees of the Hussites from Bohemia, and afterwards by the Polish students, who studied under *Melanchton*; when the Brethren, that were expelled Bohemia, made in 1548

minister at Iglau, and *Paul Kirmensis*, the minister of the reformed congregation at Hunnobrod. Both were deposed on account of other irregularities, and the latter retreated to the Brethren, asked their pardon, and was, as a reconciled enemy, maintained by them with much affection until his end.

In the *Buedingen Collection* III. p. 559, an extract of *Hederich's* Preface is to be found, being the marrow of his whole work.

## 50 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

Great Poland their afylum; and, although they were at that time forced to move farther, yet left a feed behind them. At the fame time, feveral men of learning, who had ftudied under the famous *Trotzendorf* of Goldberg in Silefia, propagated the Lutheran doctrine chiefly in Polish Pruffia; as others did that of the Reformed, principally in Little Poland. Almoft all the nobility embraced the Proteftant doctrine. The king himfelf was inclined to a thorough reformation, and had no other objections, than fuch as arofe from the controverfies of the Proteftants among themfelves, and from the Arian difturbances.

The Brethren, in paffing through Poland, had left a little congregation at Pofnania; which the caftellan, count de *Oftrog*, joined in the very hour, in which he intended to drive his lady out of the meeting with a whip. This very nobleman, in 1551, applied to the Brethren in Pruffia for a minifter, and obtained *George Israel*, afterwards prefident of the fynod; who in a fhort time gathered forty congregations in Poland\*, in which were many of the grandees. *Felix Cruciger*, fuperintendent of the Reformed in Little Poland, who neither could nor would any longer oppofe the fpreading of the Brethren, entered twice into conference with this *George Israel*, in order to fettle the differences fubfifting between them, and to carry on the work of the Lord in fellowfhip. Upon this enfued the firft general fynod of the Proteftants at *Cosminiec* in 1555; at which, in prefence of feveral waywods from Great and Little Poland, and an embaffy of the duke of Pruffia, the confeffion of the Bohemian Brethren, their church-discipline, and other writings were read, examined, approved, and a coalition of both parties was formed and ratified by their giving each

\* According to *Regenvolfcius*, (l. i. c. xiv.) they very foon fpread farther ftill; and, befides thofe in Poland and Lithuania, had many congregations in Polish Pruffia, Caffubia, and Silefia; and in many places, court-chaplains and head-mafters of fchools were called from among them.

other the right hand of fellowship, and this agreement sealed by their partaking together of the holy communion.

§ 29.

OF this the Reformed apprized the divines in Switzerland, who, being uncommonly pleased with the news, exhorted them to continue in this union, and particularly, as *Musculus* of *Bern* expresses himself, to make good use of the simple manner of teaching, and the excellent order and discipline of the Brethren. But this union met very soon with difficulties. The secret Arians, who desired to be included in this agreement, in order that they might be protected, and thereby be the better able secretly to spread their poison, wanted several articles of doctrine and usages of the Brethren to be altered. But, not succeeding, they sought to render the Brethren suspected by the Swiss divines. Even old *John à Lasco* \*, a man approved under many a cross, retarded the union for a while. He would not only have some ceremonies at the Lord's supper altered, according to the standard of his late reformed congregations in England; but he also demanded of the Brethren a more explicit and nice explanation of the Lord's supper. Calvin likewise urged a more

\* He was born in 1499 of a noble family in Poland, studied in France, Italy and Germany, favoured the reformation, and on that account refused a bishopric in Poland. In 1540 he went into Germany and the Netherlands, received in 1542 a vocation to be a minister at Emden, and reformed the churches in East and West Friesland. By archbishop *Cranmer's* invitation, he went in 1549 into England, and became superintendent of the foreign Protestants, and a minister of the church of Austin Friars at London. He assisted in the emendation of the canon law of the church of England. He, together with part of his congregation, were expelled the kingdom by queen Mary; and, having been advised to withdraw, in Denmark and many places of Germany; on account of his calvinistical doctrine, he in 1556 returned into Poland. He died in 1560.

determinate declaration of their mind concerning the way and manner of Christ's corporal presence in the communion. John à Lasco received an injunction from the king against raising fresh disturbances; and the Brethren endeavoured, by means of a deputation, to satisfy Calvin and the rest of the Swiss divines, to whom they had been traduced.

## § 30.

FOR in the year 1557, at the synod of the Brethren at *Slezanj*, in Moravia, many grandees from Poland having appeared, and desired a closer coalition of the Brethren with the adherents of the Swiss confession, this point was indeed prosecuted at several synods; yet the Brethren in 1560 found it necessary to dispatch, from *Bunzlau* in Bohemia, where their principal residence was at that time, (and on which account they were usually called, The Brethren of Bunzlau) *John Rokita* and *Peter Herbert* to some princes, and to the principal divines in Germany and Switzerland, with a view partly to renew the friendship begun with the reformers, and partly to clear themselves from evil reports, and give foreign divines a better account of their doctrine and regulations, and of the union begun in Poland. These deputies met every where with a very kind reception, especially from duke *Christopher* of Wuertemberg, and the count palatine *Wolfgang* of Deux Ponts; who, in company of many divines, and especially the celebrated *Jacobus Andreas* and *Joannes Brentzius*, had an interview with them at *Goepingen*. The duke offered them his territory, should they be tolerated nowhere else, and furnished them with recommendatory letters to several Polish grandees. The chancellor *Peter Paul Vergerius*, late legate of the pope in Germany, showed them in particular much love. This great prelate, against whom in his funeral sermon no farther exception was made, than that he had not understood the  
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controversies; in which, according to Salig's expression, he was a child and a bungler, but he wished to be a perfect man as to the life which is in Christ Jesus; this prelate, according to his own account in the preface to the confession of the Brethren, which he published in 1556 at Tuebingen, was become acquainted with the Brethren's congregations upon his travels in Prussia and Poland, and had admired their unity as well as their doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, the more, as the frequent controversies of those times had been very offensive to him. He had written glorious testimonies of them to Italy and other places; had given different ideas of them to such as either had known nothing of them, or feared that the Polanders might be corrupted by the doctrine of the Waldenses; and had in particular appeased the emperor *Maximilian*. At last he requested to be received into the Brethren's congregation, and to conclude his life among them; that he might thereby give their ecclesiastical discipline an equal testimony to that which he had given the Protestant church, by his acceding to their pure doctrine. But his design was prevented by his death.

§ 31.

ROKITA, with the letter of the duke to the Polish grantees, returned into Poland; but *Herbert* continued his journey to Heidelberg, Strasburg, and into Switzerland, and conferred with the divines there, in particular with *Bullinger*, *Peter Martyr*, *Musculus*, *Calvin*, *Viret*, and *Theodore Beza*. He, in the name of the Brethren, complained of their severe censures; declaring, that they would not be involved in the controversies about the Lord's supper, and neither could nor would explain themselves about the mode thereof in any clearer manner, than they had hitherto done by simply using the scripture-expressions. The divines testified their satisfaction. *Calvin* especially, in his answer to the Brethren,

endeavoured to apologise for his former letters to the Poland-ers; though he seemed to take amiss the Brethren's too strict conformity to the confession of Augsbург.

In consequence hereof, the affair of the union between the adherents to the Swiss confession in Poland and the Brethren, was continued with renewed zeal, and brought to bear at the synod of *Xians* in the year 1560. Being agreed about the doctrine, a weighty dispute arose about church-order; for some were for forming a better church-discipline out of the scriptures, than the Brethren's; which, in their opinion, still favoured too much of popery, and gave too much power to the clergy. The Brethren would not recede from their discipline; which, as they averred, had not been formed hastily, but, after forty years deliberation, prayer, and severe persecutions, and, having for a century flourished in great blessing, had been commended by many pious divines, because it urged a true change of heart, not admitting any person, without a sufficient examination, to the fellowship of the saints, and to the holy communion. At length, by a majority of votes \*, the church-order of the Brethren was accepted, under this restriction, that the congregations in Little Poland should be divided into seven districts, and those in Lithuania into six; and that not only an ecclesiastical, but also a civil *senior* should be set over each district, who was to accompany the ecclesiastical *senior* †,

\* Comenius in his history, § 99—103, seems not to be pleased with this synod, because political and carnal wisdom bore the sway at it. And we can hardly view it in any other light, but that this synod proved, in its consequences, very detrimental to the Brethren in Poland; not by the new addition made to their church-constitution, but by their too great encroachment, by applying a church-discipline to persons no way fitted for it, and by blending with another constitution, by which they were afterwards swallowed up.

† From this time the bishops of the Brethren in Poland styled themselves *Seniors*, with a view to obviate the suspicion both of the Catholics and Reformed; making use of the episcopal title solely in their writings addressed to episcopal churches among the Protestants,



or superintendent, on his visitations, to care for the outward concerns of the churches ; and in the congregations, especially at the provincial synods, to be held once a year, to hear the grievances, and adjust differences.

§ 32.

By this union the Brethren rendered themselves suspected to the Lutherans. Their first superintendent, *Erasmus Glicznar*, invited the *senior* of the Brethren, *George Israel*, to a synod at Posnania in 1567, at which he laid before him certain positions, which *Morgensfern* had taken out of their confession, and pretended to be erroneous, requiring an answer. These positions were partly very trivial, and partly quite congruous with the true Lutheran doctrine. He insisted upon their renouncing their own confession, and exclusively adopting that of Augsburg, which they, however, acknowledged to be orthodox too. Now, as they could not come to an agreement, the affair was in 1568 referred by both parties to the theological faculty at Wittenberg ; who, in their reply, disapproved of the polemical writings of Thorn, and, after the late Dr. Luther's example, maintained, that, notwithstanding the diversity of some expressions and usages, the Bohemian church ought not to be esteemed different from the Lutheran. They only exhorted the Brethren not to confine the true church to *their* constitution, commendable and worthy of imitation as it might be ; nor exclude the members of other Protestant churches from their communion.

Hereupon, *Erasmus Glicznar* invited the Brethren again to a synod held at Posnania, in February 1570, and conferred with them about the harmony of the Augustan and Bohemian confessions. The contest about the Lord's supper between the Lutherans and the Reformed having been adjusted, in a preparatory synod at *Vilna* in Lithuania ; it issued, at length, in the month of April 1570, in the celebrated synod of all the Protestants at Sendomir.

## § 33.

Besides the divines, many deputies of the nobility appeared at this synod, amongst whom, *Sborowsky*, waywod of *Sandomir*, was the president. The principal persons among the divines were, on the part of the Brethren, *Joannes Laurentius*; on behalf of the Augustan confession, *Glicznier*; and on behalf of the Swiss confession, *Gilovius*.

After some fruitless negotiations, during which each party commended their confession as the best, and would have the rest acknowledge it as the only true one, which should be laid as the foundation of their union, setting the others aside; they came to a conclusion, to compile a common Polish confession out of all the three. The Brethren were the first who acquiesced in this proposal, provided only they should not be obliged to give up their own, as the most ancient confession of them all, which had been presented to so many kings; together with their church-discipline, which they had hitherto found so beneficial, and which had been praised and recommended by all the reformers. This was approved by the rest. The Lutherans would not, in the beginning, come into it; but, having been admonished by the grandees, with tears in their eyes, to persist no longer in opposing the union, thereby furnishing their common enemies with an occasion of triumph, and laying a stumbling-block in the way of the king against the Protestants, they consented to the drawing up a common Polish confession, still retaining the Augustan for themselves.

This occasioned great joy. Many of the secret Arians, who, amidst the discord hitherto subsisting, sought to fish in troubled waters, submitted to be set to rights, confessed the godhead of Christ, and were again received into the communion of the Protestants; but the stiffnecked were excluded. They now drew up the agreement, or the so-called *Consensus Sandomiriensis*; which, having been read on the 14th of April, and approved by all, was then signed. The

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contents were, That they would no longer look upon each other as erroneous, nor teach that the sacraments were mere signs; but especially, according to the 14th article of the Saxon confession, or the repetition of the Augustan, of 1555, (which was, at the instance of Gliczner, inserted at large, with a view to show their fellowship with the Saxon church) to teach the real presence of Christ in the sacred supper of the Lord; not only to attend each other's preaching, but even to perform divine service, and communicate with the congregations adhering to another confession; regulating themselves on such occasion after the ritual peculiar to that congregation; and to send their deputies to the general synods of each branch\*.

§ 34.

At the next synod of the Lutherans and the Brethren at Posenania on the 20th of May 1570, certain remarks, *Consignatio observationum*, &c. were farther added; for instance, that they, in the doctrine of the Lord's supper, would abstain from all expressions which vary from the holy scriptures, the Saxon confession, and their own agreement; and, in point of church-fellowship, admit no members of another confession to the communion, without a testimony of their own minister; nor receive any minister, who had left their own church, into the ministry; nor draw the hearers of any congrega-

\* *Carpezz*, in his *Religions-Untersuchung* (sect. ii. c. ii) speaks of this, in § 9, thus: "Without prejudice to this union, each party retained their own peculiar church confession and rites, their usual names of distinction, and their own congregations: since they, in their agreement, had no farther view, than to acknowledge each other to be orthodox; entirely to renounce and avoid all controversies and differences; and to render each other mutual services in their respective churches." Consequently, this union was no syncretism, (confusion of religions;) and therefore the modern Brethren, whom *Jablonsky*, in his apologetic letter to *Mons de Mauclerc*, files the genuine posterity of the Sandomirians, are no Syncretists.

## 58 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

tion to another ; and, either privately, or at a general synod, to adjust the differences which might arise. Upon this, the agreement was published to all the people, who wept for joy, whilst the members of the synod, during the singing the *Te Deum*, gave each other the hand of fellowship. After this, a minister of the Brethren preached in the Lutheran church, according to the Lutheran usages, and a Lutheran minister did the same in a church of the Brethren. They dispatched deputies with the agreement to Heidelberg ; and made inquiry, whether any farther common Polish confession, or especial body of divinity, were necessary, besides this ? To which they received a reply, that they might be very well content with this agreement. The Protestant grandees, in conjunction with the divines, wrote also in 1578 to the electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg, giving them an account of the agreement of Sendomir, and the state of their congregations since. These congratulated them upon the occasion, wishing that all divines would follow their example. At the following synods of *Cracow*, *Poznania*, *Petrikow*, *Wladislaw*, &c. which all the divines and lay-elders of all the three confessions punctually attended, this agreement, together with the remarks above-mentioned, were confirmed anew. Several clauses, or canons, were added, relating to the avoiding needless, and adjusting unforeseen differences ; the better regulating the church-discipline, and the founding schools common for them all ; and lastly, it was resolved, that one church might give a vocation to a minister of another ; provided that such should be bound to accommodate themselves to the usages of the church they were appointed to serve.

### § 35.

IN this manner all the Protestants in Poland lived in unity, which none, but their enemies, regretted ; since they thereby

thereby lost an occasion, either of rendering them odious to the king on account of their discord, and thus declaring them at the diets unfit to be tolerated; or else, of seeing them destroy one another, and the grandees withdrawing from them.

So much the more did the adversaries triumph, when, at the general synod of *Poznania* in 1582, after an union of twelve years, *Paul Gerike*, a Lutheran minister of *Poznania*, and *Enoch*, who had left the Brethren, or, according to *Sa-lig's* expression, had fled from the Brethren's rigorous discipline, protested against the agreement of *Sandomir*; threatening their superintendent *Gliczner* with excommunication, and alledging the opinions of the universities of *Jena*, *Tuebingen*, and *Frankfort*; wherein this agreement is supposed to be censured. To these, *Gliczner* opposed the opinions of the universities of *Wittenberg*, *Leipsic*, and *Heidelberg*; and, at the general synod of *Thorn* in 1595, entered into an amicable conference with *Gerike*. There were present at this synod, besides a great number of spiritual and temporal deputies of the three confessions, who avowed again the agreement, eleven solemn embassies from the principal Polish and Lithuanian princes, and from the princes of *Reufs* of the Greek church\*. *Gerike* would hearken to no compromise. But when his own hearers had acceded to the agreement, he, for fear of being excommunicated, departed secretly. Hereupon he was by the synod deposed from his office, which was notified to him by a temporal deputy at *Poznania*. *Gliczner*, who amidst these disturb-

\* With these a treaty was entered upon, with a view to a closer union; and, for that end, a synodal writing was in 1599 dispatched by the presidents of all the three confessions from *Vilna* to *Meletius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*; to whom the senior of the Brethren, *Turnovius*, also wrote in particular. The answer to the latter is well known. Yet the coalition did not take place; for it came no farther than to a political union, or confederacy, as they called it.

## 60 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN. Part III.

ances received a vocation from *Poznan* into *Prussia* \*, notwithstanding all threats, persevered till his death in 1603 in his attachment to the agreement of Sendomir, and kept the rest of the Lutheran congregations to it. His successors had different sentiments, suffering the fellowship with the other confessions to be interrupted for a whole century ; till, in 1712, when the mischief of separation was discerned, though too late, they sent again deputies to the general synods. But the Reformed were more and more united with the Bohemian Brethren, until, in the year 1627, at the synod of *Ostrog*, they coalesced into one body in such a manner, that, from that time, no farther distinction has been made between the Bohemian Brethren and the Reformed in Great Poland.

\* When Glicznier left *Poznan*, many of the Lutheran ministers offered to join the Bohemian churches. But the Brethren's senior Turnovius refused them ; representing to them, that Glicznier always remained their rightful superintendent ; that it was repugnant to the fellowship entered into with Luther, and to the agreement of Sendomir ; and that the Lutheran churches would decrease, should the ministers of the Augustan confession, which the Brethren likewise admitted and received as a sound confession, leave their church.

THE  
ANCIENT HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRETHREN.

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PART IV.

*What befel the Brethren remaining in Bohemia and Moravia, until their Dispersion in 1627.*

§ 36.

LET us now see what befel the Brethren left in Bohemia and Moravia, since the great emigration into Poland and Prussia in 1548, who, according to § 27, obtained rest under the emperor *Maximilian II.* Most of the Brethren having returned out of Prussia to the Brethren in their own country; the divines of Heidelberg, who were very much pleased with the new Wittenberg-edition of the Bohemian confession, prefaced by Luther, and accompanied with an excellent testimony of the theological faculty, of 1573; sent a divine to them, in 1574, with the request, to lay their church-order open to him, since they, at the regulation of their churches, wished to make use of it. Upon his return, the most excellent testimonies ensued, lamenting, at the same time, that they had not hitherto been able to bring matters so far, “because they had leaned too much upon  
“ the

## ● ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

“ the temporal government; whereas the Brethren had  
 “ taken care not to lose any thing of the liberty purchased  
 “ for them by the blood of Christ, though their congrega-  
 “ tions were also subject to temporal government, and to all  
 “ men, for their good and edification.”

### § 37.

HEREUPON the Brethren took in hand the new translation of the bible out of the original, of which mention has been made § 19. They sent, for that purpose, some of their young students to Wittenberg and Basil, to learn the original languages. Some noblemen among the Brethren had, even before this, sent their sons, under the inspection of a deacon, to the German and other universities; and others had, of their own free motion, frequented these seats of learning, to study the languages and divinity; so, that *Laurentius*, who, in the Posnanian disputes, had been sent by *George Israel* to Wittenberg, and, having attended Luther's lectures, had been at his burial; visited ten of the Brethren's children, and was present at a disputation held by them upon the third article of the Bohemian confession, concerning the holy Trinity. The benefit they hoped to reap from it, was also productive of some mischief, as may be concluded, from the answer of the Brethren's deputy to the Strasbourg divines in 1540. (§ 25.) For, upon *Bucer's* enquiry, whether they were also troubled by fanatics, as was the case in Germany? he replied, “ No: but there are others,  
 “ and even some of our own people, who have returned  
 “ from universities; for these are so desirous of amending our  
 “ unity, that, under the pretence of gospel-liberty, they aim  
 “ at an abolition of discipline.” The Brethren being apprehensive, and finding even by experience, that the youth would, at foreign academies, together with the useful sciences, learn many unprofitable things, and introduce them into the congregations,



*from the Year 1570 to 1627.*

gregations, to the corruption of their simple doctrine and manners; they resolved, at the synod of *Bunzlau* in 1584, to found schools among themselves, and particularly to establish seminaries at *Bunzlau*, *Przerow*, and *Evanzig* in Moravia; whereas hitherto each bishop and minister had a few young men committed to him, to train them up as Acoluths. In the last place, so early as the year 1575, professor *Esfrom Ruediger* at Wittenberg, had read, by way of lectures, a commentary upon the psalms; which was by the most learned men of those days deemed preferable to any then extant. The renowned Dr. *Amandus Polanus* also repairing to them, taught their youth; even though they acquainted him beforehand, that their poverty would not admit of allowing their professors any stated stipends.

### § 38.

In the mean time, the adversaries had, through the instigation of *Joachim of Neuhaus*, chancellor of Bohemia, in 1565 procured an edict from the emperor against the Brethren; which, however, was lost, when the chancellor, on his return, fell, with the bridge, into the Danube, and was drowned. Thus the Brethren remained without molestation; but could not obtain liberty for the public exercise of their religion, till in 1575, by the desire of Maximilian II, they, in conjunction with the Masters of Prague, (for so the Calixtines were termed) and with the Lutherans, presented their common confession; which, having been sent to the theological faculty at Wittenberg, met with their very high approbation. Indeed, at the demise of the emperor, the edict of *Uladislaus* against the *Picards*, mentioned § 18, was confirmed by his son and successor *Rudolph II.* in 1602. But the patrons of the Brethren having protested against it, and shown, they were no such kind of people

## ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

people as had been there described, it was not put into execution. It is related on this occasion, that the emperor, having, immediately after, received the news of the Turks taking *Stuhl-Weissenburg*\*, declared, "I looked for some such blow, ever since I began to usurp dominion over the consciences of men, which belongs to God."

### § 39.

At length, in 1609, it came so far, that the emperor *Rudolph II.* by an imperial edict†, ratified, both for himself and his successors, to the states who held the sacrament in both kinds, (amongst whom the Brethren also were comprehended) the free exercise of religion, which they had obtained under *Maximilian*. He granted them, at the same time, the privilege of erecting new churches, and of chusing for themselves, out of the nobles who composed the states, patrons, or advocates of the church, to maintain their rights. It was likewise committed to them, together with the university of Prague, to reform the under-consistory, which had been promised them before. This consistory was, accordingly, composed of three Calixtines, three Brethren, and three Lutherans, together with three professors of the university. Some Protestants, indeed, would have had the Brethren excluded from the free exercise of religion, on account of their peculiar church-disciplines. But, upon the representation of the states, that they neither would, nor could, set aside a congregation which they had neither established nor maintained, and which, as well as they, had laboured in the vineyard of the Lord, the Brethren

\* *Alba Regalis*, then the chief city in Hungary. See *Constitutions*, § 120. (The Editor.)

† This famous edict was called *Der Majestätliche Brief*. His Majesty's Letter, by way of eminence. (The Editor.)

were

were not only included in the grant of a free religious exercise; but even one of their bishops was joined to the administration of the consistory, who was a Calixtine, as his next colleague: which regulation was to continue as long as the difference of church-order and discipline should subsist. Moreover, the Bethlehem-church at Prague, in which *Huss* had begun to preach the gospel, (§ 5.) was delivered into their hands. And as it was not spacious enough, they obtained the liberty of erecting another church for both Germans and Bohemians. Hereupon the imperial edict was published with great joy and exultation, and ringing all the bells, but, alas, not without a sinful triumph over their enemies; and after a sermon preached on the occasion, the *Te Deum* was sung.

§ 40.

“ But, ah !” (writes Comenius out of the History of the Bohemian persecution) “ together with the free exercise of religion, the liberty of the flesh began gradually to appear; and good discipline was lost even among those who had before strenuously maintained it. This liberty, therefore, which was attended with a carnal security, was displeasing to all the pious; for they apprehended bad consequences from it.” It seems that the Brethren, who were expected, on occasion of this union, to lay aside their particular church-order and discipline, had, to gratify their wellwishers among the other parties, made some abatement in it; that, in hopes they would at length give it up altogether, the glorious privileges obtained of the emperor were extended to them likewise; and that they, accordingly, had, by degrees, accommodated themselves to the multitude, becoming conformed to the world, and, to avoid the loss of their outward ease and prosperity, reckoned many points, formerly esteemed necessary, as non-essentials, and departed

from their primitive purity and strength; if they were not even entangled in many actual transgressions: inasmuch that, at the complete overthrow of the Bohemian church-liberty, they were not exempted from feeling those evils in their utmost rigour, which cannot altogether be called, sufferings for Christ's sake.

#### § 41.

For, upon the death of the emperor *Rudolph* in 1612, when the resolutions of the council of Trent were to be put in execution against the Protestants, and the beginning was to be made with the Bohemians; these were, through incessant vexations and mortifications\*, against which no imperial edict, nor any representation, were of avail to protect them, driven to impatience, resistance by force of arms, and at last to a renunciation of obedience to their new king *Ferdinand II*; to throw the imperial counsellors down headlong out of the windows of the castle, and to chuse the elector Palatine *Frederic* for their king. But, after the unfortunate battle on the *Weissenberg* near Prague in 1620, they were partly taken prisoners, and partly obliged to go into exile with him. Certain of them, having, by a dissembled offer of pardon, been allured to come again into the country, were put in prison, and, as rebels, some of them condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and some to death. On the 21st of June 1621, seven-and-twenty of the principal lords and defenders of the Protestants were beheaded. Hereupon ensued the coercive reformation. First of all, the Anabaptists in Moravia, who had forty-five colleges, in each of which lodged between some hundreds and a thousand persons, were banished. They thus escaped a greater evil, which

\* The political grounds and occasion of them may be read at large in the History of the Bohemian persecutions, c. xli, together with the coercive reformation of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Moravia, from c. xlv—cv.

afterwards beset the rest. To avoid, in the beginning, the appearance of a religious persecution, lest the neighbouring princes might be alarmed; they were, by plunderings, incessant exactions of money, at times even by a variety of tortures, and by executions, driven to the extremity, that many either fell away, or quitted the country, leaving all they had behind them. But as it was found that thus the end was not answered, and that the land would rather be stripped of its inhabitants; the ministers were banished, first of all, from Prague, and the free cities, which now were deprived of their liberty, and, at last, in 1624, out of the whole country. Many hid themselves in mountains and caves, and visited their congregations secretly. But, being traced out and detected, some of them were put to death, and others expelled the country. This beset not only such of the states and cities, as had joined in the war; whom, as it was first pretended, they would chastise merely on account of rebellion: but as their enemies had to fear no opposition, on account of the good success of the arms of the emperor in the well-known war which lasted thirty years, all who would not abjure their religion were banished. Baron *Charles Scheratin*, vice-margrave of Moravia, who had twenty-four ministers of the Unity of the Brethren upon his estates, endeavoured, indeed, to prevent the proscription, by representing to the imperial court, that this mandate had no reference to him and his subjects, as they had continued in their loyalty to the emperor. But he effected nothing; and, as he continued to conceal the bishops and some of the ministers of the Brethren, he was at last forced to quit the country with them. He went to Breslaw, where he died in 1636, leaving his library, which he had collected at a vast expence, to the church of St. Mary Magdalene. To fill up the places of the ministers in the desolated congregations, for the most part, illiterate and ignorant persons, and, partly, notoriously wicked men were set over them as pastors. When these could effect nothing, a commission for reformation was appointed, who, by treachery

chery and outrage, were to draw the Protestants into a recantation: and glad they were, if, upon an assurance given them, that they might believe in their hearts what ~~they~~ pleased, they could induce some to recant; but others they compelled by all manner of vexations. But, as many noblemen remained immovable, and supported the common people with the hopes of regaining their liberty; the whole body of the Protestant nobility, having been first drained in a great measure of their substance, and stripped of their estates, were banished the country in 1627. Many hundred noble and other reputable families of citizens took their refuge in *Vogtland*, *Misnia*, *Lusatia*, *Silesia*, the margraviate of *Brandenburg*, *Poland*, *Prussia*, *Hungary*, *Transilvania*, the *Empire*, and the *Netherlands*. The common people were strictly watched, to prevent their following them. They were now still more pressed, by a variety of methods, to embrace a religion, which they could not agree with in their hearts; or rather, only to join in the practice of certain outward usages and forms. And yet, notwithstanding all this, many thousands found an opportunity of following their ministers into exile.

## § 42.

AMONG the ministers of the Brethren driven out of Moravia; *John Amos*, called *Comenius*, from *Komensky*, the place of his nativity, is most known; of whose remarkable life, notwithstanding the brevity of this work, I must relate some few particulars; because it throws some light upon the state of the Brethren during their exile, which is otherwise almost totally unknown.

He was born at *Komna* in Moravia on the 28th of March 1592; prosecuted his studies at *Herborn* and *Heidelberg*; and in 1616 became head-master of the school at *Przerow*, which he made a kind of college, being an eminent schoolman. In the year 1616 he was ordained, and in 1618 appointed

appointed minister at *Fulnek* in Moravia. He, at the same time, took upon him the direction of the school. In the war which broke out soon after, *Fulnek* was taken by the Spaniards; and his excellent library plundered. When in 1624 all the ministers were banished the country, he sojourned for a time in the mansion-house of Baron *George Sadowsky de Staupna*, in the Bohemian mountains, from whence he visited his orphan congregation, and on their behalf in 1626 undertook a deputation into Poland. But when in 1627 even the Protestant nobility were forced to leave the country, he, being no longer safe in his retreat, emigrated with part of his congregation through Silesia into Poland. Being arrived at the mountains on the confines, he, casting once more an eye towards Moravia and Bohemia, fell with his Brethren upon his knees, and with many tears prayed to God, that he would not quite remove his gospel from Moravia and Bohemia, but still reserve to himself a seed \*. And this prayer was heard. They directed their way towards *Lissa*, where he laboured in the school, and in 1631 published his *Janua Linguarum reſerata*, which has been translated into twelve European, and even into some of the Asiatic languages. He was under engagements to go to Sweden, England, and Transilvania, in order to regulate the schools. In the intervals he resided mostly at Elbing and *Lissa*, employing himself in stillness upon his grand pansophic work, being an encyclopedia of all sciences. But having, at the fire of *Lissa* in 1656, lost almost all his books, he repaired to Francfort on the Oder, from thence to Hamburg, and at last, in the same year, to Amsterdam, where he became a private tutor to the children of some merchants; and printed his *Opera Didactica*. At a synod held at *Lissa* in 1632, he was consecrated bishop of the dispersed Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia; and was the senior bishop of the Bre-

\* See the inscription in the ball of the Bohemian church-ſteple at Berlin 1736. *Acta hiſtorico-eccleſiaſtica*, p. x. p. 585.

thren, or president of the synod, from 1648 till 1691; when, on the 5th of October, being in the 80th year of his age, he ended his toilsome pilgrimage and exile. As to his posterity, so much is come to our knowledge, that his son *David* died at *Amsterdam*, minister of the Bohemian exiles. His daughter *Elizabeth* was married to *Petrus Figulus*, commonly called *Jablonsky*, whom, in his eighth year, *Comenius* brought with him out of Moravia. These were the parents of *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, a man much celebrated in the modern history of the Brethren. He was principal chaplain to his majesty the king of Prussia, and senior president of the Unity in Poland.

§ 43.

COMENIUS, on his many travels, took all possible pains to restore the oppressed church of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia; nor did he ever give up his hopes of seeing it effected, as long as the war of thirty years continued. In this view he addressed the Protestant princes, and especially the English nation, when in 1641 he had been invited into England for the improvement of the schools. His abilities and labour in the schools in England are well known to the learned; and his affection for the English nation and for the church of England, is evidently seen in his book, *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England; &c.* His fidelity towards his Brethren, and the desire of seeing the Unity restored in their own country, misled him and other pious teachers to fix their eyes upon the help of man; insomuch that, upon every successful battle during the war of thirty years, they conceived fresh hopes, which however, in the upshot proved vain. But most of all he exposed his weakness, when he suffered himself to be persuaded to give credit to the prophecies which were in those days circulated concerning the fall of the Antichrist; and  
of



of the house of Austria, and concerning the restoration of king *Frederic*, and of church-liberty in Bohemia. He even recommended these prophecies to others, against the advice of many of his Brethren and colleagues. Being on his travels in 1626, as deputy from Moravia to Poland, he was made acquainted at *Goerliz*, by a young baron de *Scherotins*, who came from Moravia, with the visions of *Christopher Kotter*, a tanner of *Sprottau* in Silesia; who had received them as early as 1616, and in 1620 disclosed them to king *Frederic*. These visions were, at the command of the elector of Brandenburg, examined by divines, and by many looked upon as of God. Comenius hesitated in the beginning to give credit to them; but was persuaded by the minister of *Sprottau*, and still farther confirmed in the belief of them by some divines in Brandenburg. He translated these prophecies, and had them printed at *Pirna*. Some ministers of the Brethren opposed it, representing that such prophecies misled men from the word of God into human imaginations; and that they would expose the dispersed Brethren to still greater misery and distress, and even to danger of their lives. But all this could not restrain him from carrying them over to Holland to the elector *Frederic*, whom the Bohemians had chosen to be their king, (§ 41.) who wished to see them; and to present them to him, with an address, in which he, indeed, did not maintain that they were of divine origin, yet advised attention to them. Upon his return into Bohemia, he took *Kotter* with him. But this man was in 1627 taken prisoner, and banished the country.

Soon after, *Christina*, who was afterwards his foster-daughter, of the noble Polish family of *Poniatowsky*, had just such revelations; which she went so far as to present to the imperial general *Wallenstein*. The ministers of the Brethren in Poland were divided on this head. The majority rejected, and warned others against them. The prophetess herself was soon after delivered from her visions, dying in

1644, having spent twelve years in the matrimonial state with the co-bishop *Daniel Vetter*.

In the mean time, *Nicolaus Drabicius*, a minister of the Brethren expelled Moravia, had, at *Ledniz* in Hungary, where he dealt in cloth, visions of armies coming from the North and from the East, and brought prince *Sigismund Ragotzy* in Transylvania a divine mandate to overthrow the house of Austria and the Pope. Now, though this prince did not enter into it, and died soon after; yet his friends conceived fresh hopes, upon his son *George's* inroad into Poland, and upon the death of the emperor, and king of Bohemia, *Ferdinand II.* However, this hope also proved abortive. Poor *Drabicius* was taken up, and, after his right hand had been cut off, burnt, together with his prophecies. *Comenius* was persuaded to receive the fancies of *Drabicius* as truth, and had them printed, together with *Kotter's* and *Poniatowia's* prophecies, under the title of *Lux in Tenebris*.

#### § 44.

THIS, doubtless, was a fruitless, and withal, a dangerous and hurtful work; which he himself bemoaned in his last book, *Unum Necessarium*, (*The One Thing Needful*) written in 1668, in the 77th year of his age. Far more profitable was it for his Brethren and for the public, when in 1649 he made an extract of a book written by *Joannes Lasitius*, a Polish nobleman of the Swiss confession, who, on his travels, became in 1570 intimately acquainted with the Brethren in Bohemia, under the title, *Historia de Origine et Gestis Fratrum Bohemorum*. *Comenius* had it printed, together with the entire eighth book, *De Moribus et Institutis Fratrum*. In the preface and conclusion he added an exhortation to return to the first love and zeal of their fathers.

All hopes of the renewal of the church in his own country being vanished; *Comenius* believed, that, with him, as the last bishop,

bishop, the Bohemian and Moravian church of the Brethren would be extinct. He, therefore, endeavoured to preserve the memory and blessedness of it, in a threefold manner. He republished the church-discipline and order of the Brethren, (*Ratio Disciplinæ Ordinisque ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum*,) as it had been drawn up in 1616 at a synod at Scherawitz in Moravia, signed by all the bishops and ministers, and in 1632 printed at the synod of Lissa; to which he annexed a compendious church-history of the Brethren taken from Lasitius, and his own sentiments concerning a general reformation. He dedicated this book, as his last will and testament, and as a legacy of great moment, to the church of England, to use it according to their own pleasure, and preserve it, as a deposit, for the posterity of the Brethren: "should God" (so he writes § 13 of the *Dedicatory Address* \*) "produce, even out of these confusions, that which is better, than we all can think: to wit, (as he hath promised) that the gospel may at last pass away from sharply chastised Christendome to the other nations of the world: that so (as it was long ago) our stumbling may be the enriching of the world, and our diminishing, the riches of the Gentiles. Rom. xi. 12.

"The consideration" (says he § 14.) "of this, so much to be admired, eternal providence, doth gently allay the grief which I have taken by reason of the ruine of the church of my native countrey; of the government of which (so long as she kept her station) the laws are here described, and set forth in view. Even my self, alas! being the very last superintendent † of all, am fain (obliged) before your eyes, O churches! to shut the door after me. &c.

\* These are the words of the English edition of the *Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England, &c.* (See the Editor's Preface.)

† President of the synod.

"But

## 74 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

“ But yet, I would not (§ 16.) have these things to be so  
 “ taken, as if, in my solitude, and by my departure hence,  
 “ I feared or foretold the final end of the church in my  
 “ countrey. I know that the Church, being founded upon  
 “ the Rock of eternity, can not fail, viz. the Catholick.  
 “ And yet examples testifie, that particular churches are  
 “ sometimes overthrown by the hand of an angry God,  
 “ that, according to his good pleasure, others may be planted,  
 “ or else the same otherwise.

“ This I (§ 17.) with full trust expecting from the ever-  
 “ lasting Goodness, (if, notwithstanding, God should call  
 “ me to depart out of this life, without present comfort,  
 “ yet) will say with the last of those seven Maccabean Bre-  
 “ thren martyrs, *Let the anger of the Omnipotent, which is*  
 “ *come upon our generation for our sins, rest upon me (or, cease*  
 “ *in me) and my brethren.* 2 Mac. vii. 38.

“ But to you, (§ 20.) Friends\*, (after the example of  
 “ our eternal Master †) we commend our well-beloved Mo-  
 “ ther, the Church. Take you now the care hereof in our  
 “ rooms, whatever it shall please God to do unto her, whe-  
 “ ther to restore her amongst us, or, when she is deceased at  
 “ home, to raise her to life elsewhere. You have just cause  
 “ indeed to love her, even when dead, who, whilst yet liv-  
 “ ing, went before you in her good examples of faith and  
 “ patience, even now unto the third generation.

“ God himself, (§ 21.) when he took away and laid  
 “ waste his people's land, city, temple, because of their  
 “ unthankfulness for his blessings, he would still have  
 “ the basis of the altar to be left in its place, upon which,  
 “ after ages, (when they should be returned to themselves  
 “ and to God) they might build again. Ezra III. 3. If  
 “ then, by the grace of God, there hath been found in  
 “ us (as wise men and godly have sometimes thought) any

\* The Church of England.

† John xix. 27.

“ thing true, any thing honourable, any thing just, any thing  
 “ pure, any thing to be loved, and of good report, and if  
 “ any virtue, and any praise; care must be taken, that it  
 “ may not dye with us, when we dye: and, at least, that  
 “ the very foundations be not buried in the rubbish of pre-  
 “ sent ruines, so, that the generation to come should not  
 “ be able to tell where to finde them. And indeed, this  
 “ care is taken, and provision is made on this behalf, by  
 “ this our trust entrusted in your hands.”

Thus far Comenius.

This excellent deposite the late Dr. *Buddeus* endeavoured to make use of for the benefit of the Lutheran church, and in 1702 published it with a preface, in which he commends the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren, as it deserves, proposing it to the Lutheran churches as a pattern for imitation. It was afterwards, together with the Bohemian confession, translated into German, and printed at *Schwabach* in 1739.

# § 45.

THE second thing Comenius did for the preservation of the dispersed Bohemian and Moravian Brethren's church, was the consecration of a bishop *in spem contra spem*, in hope against hope. Upon the demise of *Martinus Gertichius*, a Polish bishop, in 1657, his colleague, *John Buxtner*, wrote to Comenius, as president of the synod, that he would be pleased to consider about successors, lest, after the decease of them both, the order of bishops, which had now continued two hundred years, might cease. It was not easy, at first, to meet with subjects properly qualified for the purpose. At length, the choice fell upon *Nicolaus Gertichius*, court-chaplain to the duke of *Litvitz*, for the congregations in Poland; and upon *Petrus Figulus*, from *Jablonne*, or *Gabala* in Bohemia, his native place, called *Jablonsky*; who, as a child, emigrated with Comenius, and was now his son-in-law. This

last was designed for the Brethren dispersed in and out of Bohemia and Moravia. Their consecration was performed at the synod of *Mielenczyn* in 1662. As Comenius, on account of his advanced age, could not appear in person, he sent *Daniel Vetter*, his consenior, to it; giving him a full power and a consecration in writing, according to the custom of the primitive church, when, in times of trouble and persecution, two or more bishops could not meet to consecrate a new bishop. *Peter Jablonsky* was intended to be Comenius's successor for the Bohemian church: but he died before him in 1670. His son *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky* succeeded him in 1699, obtaining, at the same time, the superintendency of the Bohemian Brethren out of Poland. And this is the very person, who again transmitted the deposite of the episcopal ordination to the Brethren, who lately emigrated from Bohemia and Moravia, as will be related in its place.

The third thing Comenius did for the Brethren remaining in Bohemia and Moravia, was the publication of a catechism, which was printed at *Amsterdam* in 1661, with a dedication "To all the godly Sheep of Christ, dispersed here" and there, especially to those of *Fulnek*, *Gerdsdorf*, *Giansdorf*, *Klitte*, *Kunewalde*, *Stachewalde*, *Seitendorf*, and *Zauchtenthal*\*." And from every one of these villages Brethren are come to *Herrnhut*. The dedication begins with these words: "Grace and peace from God through the sanctification of the Spirit, and the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, &c." and concludes with the following words, "May the God of all grace grant you, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man, for the cause of Christ, to continue instant in prayer, to remain free from sin, to hold out amidst trials and af-

\* These names were then expressed only by the initial letters, because these towns and villages were the principal retirements of the Brethren in Moravia. See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Bohemia*. Appendix, p. 10.

"flictions,

" fictions, to the praise of his name, and to your own  
" eternal establishment for his kingdom."

Of his other writings I will make no farther mention; only let me observe, that, in the list of them, there is commonly forgotten his *Manuale Biblicum*, or, *Marrow of all the Holy Scripture*, being an extract of the Bible; which was composed by him in the Bohemian language in 1658, to supply the defect of bibles, which were taken away from the Brethren.

§ 46.

Now I will proceed to show the succession of the Bohemian, Moravian, and Polish bishops of the Unity of the Brethren, from 1467 to his time, taken from *Adrian Regenvolsius's Systema Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum*, (lib. iii. cap. x.) and will add the continuation of it to our own time from *Jablonsky's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, as well as from other records.

1467. By STEPHEN, bishop of the Waldenses in Austria, were consecrated

1. MICHAEL BRADACIUS of Zamberg, President\*.
2. N. N. an ancient minister of the Waldenses.
3. N. N. one who had been ordained a priest in the church of Rome.

In the same year these three consecrated

4. MATTHIAS CONVALDENSIS †, President.
5. PROCOPIUS, bachelor of divinity, President 27 years.

\* The president was the eldest bishop in respect to consecration, and the first among the other bishops; who, as long as he lived, presided at the synods.

† The greatest part of the surnames of the bishops are derived from the places of their respective nativity. *Convaldensis*, from *Kunswalde* near Lititz. But some of them are family-names, as *Martinus Sacka*.

## 78 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

1467. 6. THOMAS PRÆLAUZIUS, President 11 years. He, having, shortly before his death in 1518, heard of Luther's labour, prayed for the blessing of God upon it.
1499. 7. *Elias Chrozenovius*. He had before visited the Brethren, who were in exile in Moldavia.
8. LUCAS PRAGENSIS, bachelor of divinity, President 10 years. He had been a deputy in Greece, and afterwards in France and Italy. He compiled the first collection of hymns.
9. *Ambrosius Magnus, Skutecensis*.
1516. 10. MARTINUS SZKODA, President 5 years.
1529. 11. *Wenceslaus Albus, of Brandeis*.
12. *Andreas Ciclovius*.
13. JOANNES CORNU, or *Horn*, President 15 years. Having been sent as deputy to Luther in 1522 and 1542, he got the hymn-book of the Brethren printed in German at Nuernberg.
1532. 14. *Benedictus Bavorinius*, of noble extraction. Luther and Melanchton corresponded with him.
15. *Vitus Michalecius*, bachelor of divinity.
16. JOANNES AUGUSTA, President 25 years. He was a deputy sent to Luther in 1536, 1540, and 1542. He corresponded with Luther, and was, on that account, imprisoned 16 years. He afterwards visited the congregations in Great Poland, and left several Bohemian writings behind him.
1537. 17. *Martinus Michalecius*.
18. *Matthias Sionius*. He emigrated into Prussia.
1553. 19. *Joannes Nigrinus, or Czerny*.
20. *Matthias Erythraeus, or Czervenka*, a deputy to *Bucer*, notary and historiographer.
1557. 21. GEORGIUS ISRAEL, President 16 years. He was sent as deputy to Luther. In 1548 he

con-



conducted the exiles into Prussia; founded many churches in Great Poland; sent in 1586 a deputation to the theological faculty at Wittenberg, and left behind him a History of the origin of the Polish-church. He was first senior of the Unity in Poland.

1557. 22. *Joannes Blahoslus*. He prosecuted his studies under Trotzendorf at Goldberg, at Wittenberg, Koenigsberg, and Basil. He translated the New Testament, wrote an History of the Unity, and the Lives of the principal Ministers.
23. *Andreas Stephanus*. He left behind him Sermons upon the Apostles' Creed.
24. JOANNES CALEPH, President 6 months. A strenuous maintainer of church-discipline.
1560. 25. *Joannes Laurentius*, senior in Poland; a disciple of Trotzendorf and Luther. He visited the congregations in Prussia, and in 1568 the students at Wittenberg.
1577. 26. ZACHARIAS LITOMISLENSIS, President 2 years.
27. JOANNES ÆNEAS, A. M. President 4 years.
1587. 28. *Joannes Abdias*.
29. SIMON THEOPHILUS TURNOVIUS, President 14 years; senior in Poland. He prosecuted his studies at Cosminiec and Wittenberg, assisted in quality of a deacon in 1570 to bring to a conclusion the Agreement of Sendomir. By his help, *Joannes Lasitius* wrote his eight books *De Origine et Gestis Fratrum Bohemorum*. He was a man of great learning, especially in languages. His common saying was, "Come, Lord Jesus! come quickly!"
1589. 30. *Joannes Ephraim*, who studied at Heidelberg.
31. *Paulus Jessenius*.

## 86 ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE BRETHREN, Part IV.

1594. 32. *Jacobus Naricissus*, President 3 years. . . . .
33. *Joannes Niemczaninus*.
1599. 34. *Samuel Sufficius*.
35. *Zacharias Ariston*.
1601. 36. *Bartholomæus Niemczaninus*.
37. *JOANNES LANECIUS*, President 15 years.
1606. 38. *Joannes Cruciger*.
1608. 39. *Matthias Rybinius*, senior in Poland. He translated the psalms into Polish verse, for the use of the churches.
40. *MARTINUS GRATIANUS GERTICHIUS*, senior in Poland. President 3 years. He studied at Wittenberg.
1609. 41. *Matthaus Koneczny*.
1611. 42. *Matthias Cyrus*, the first assessor of the consistory at Prague.
1612. 43. *JOANNES TURNOVIUS*, D. D. senior in Poland, President 30 days.
44. *GREGORIUS ERASTUS*, President 14 years.
1618. 45. *Joannes Cyrillus*, assessor of the consistory at Prague.
1627. 46. *Daniel Micolajewius*. He was received from the Swiss confession into the Unity, and consecrated bishop in Poland.
1629. 47. *Paulus Paliurus* of Moravia, senior in Poland. He translated the Bible into Polish.
1631. 48. *Laurentius Juslinus*, President 5 years.
49. *Matthias Procopius*.
50. *JOANNES AMOS COMENIUS*, President 23 years.
51. *Paulus Fabricius*, assessor of the consistory at Prague. He went into exile to Misnia; and became at Lissa senior of the dispersed Moravian Brethren.
1633. 52. *Martinus Orminius*. He and all the following were seniors in Poland.

1533. 53. *Joannes Rytinius*. He was present at the synod of Dort in 1618.  
 1544. 54. *Martinus Gertichius*.  
 55. *Joannes Byttnerus*.  
 Thus far *Regenwolfscius*.

Now follow the remainder of the Bishops of the Unity in Poland, taken from *Jablonsky's* Letter to Dr. *Wake*, archbishop of Canterbury, 1717\*.

1662. 56. *Nicolaus Gertichius*, court-chaplain to the duke of Liegnitz, consecrated at the synod of *Mielenczyn* for the Polish Unity by *Byttner*, with the written consent and blessing of old *Comenius*.  
 57. *Petrus Figulus*, surnamed *Jablonsky*, from the place of his nativity, Gabel in Bohemia; *Comenius's* son-in-law. He was consecrated for the Bohemian branch, in *Spem contra Spem*; that is, in case, contrary to all expectation, the church in Bohemia and Moravia should be restored.  
 1673. 58. *Adam Samuel Hartmann*, consecrated at the synod of Lissa, October 28th.  
 1676. 59. *Joannes Zugeboer*, in St. Peter and Paul's church at Dantzick, August 13th.  
 1692. 60. *Jachim Gulich*, at the synod of Lissa, June 26th.  
 1699. 61. *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, son of *Peter*, chaplain in ordinary at the court of Berlin, at the synod of Lissa, March 10th.  
 1712. 62. *Joannes Jacobides*.  
 1712. 63. *Solomon Opitz*, at the synod of Zuelchow, July 11th.

\* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, Report &c p. 5 and 6. Item, *Chancellor Pfaff's* *Dissertatio de Successione Episcopali*.

1712. 64. *David Caffius*, at the general synod of Thorn, November 4th.

Upon these still follow

65. *Paulus Caffius*, brother of the foregoing, consecrated on the 31st of October 1712, co-bishop; and on the 26th of February 1725, bishop, at Francfort on the Oder.

66. *Christianus Sitkovius*, consecrated con-senior, on the 6th of May 1732, at the synod of Lissa, and in 1734, senior, at Francfort on the Oder.

67. *David Nitschmann*, consecrated in 1735 by Jablonsky at Berlin, bishop of the Moravian Brethren, &c.

#### § 47.

CONCERNING the state of the Protestant Bohemians, who partly fled from, and partly remained in, their own country, we can, for want of sufficient records, say but little with any certainty. However, we may form some idea of it from Comenius's preface and conclusion to Lasitius's eighth book of the History of the Brethren. As long as the war of thirty years, which began in Bohemia, continued, they entertained some hopes of regaining the free exercise of their religion. But when all these hopes were expired at the peace of Westphalia, and the persecution broke out afresh with still greater severity; they were then still more intent upon emigrating into other countries; in which also many hundreds succeeded, notwithstanding all the obstructions laid in their way. Many of them went into Silesia, where they were received, particularly, by the Protestant princes at *Brieg*. Still greater numbers, especially of the Brethren, retired into Poland and Prussia. Most of them went into Saxony and Upper Lusatia, where they, in part, were lost among the rest of the inhabitants; which was also the case

of

of those in the *Erz-Gebirge*, in *Mogtland*, and in *Franconia*. Yet some of them formed particular congregations, and even founded new villages; of which the following are taken notice of in the *Historia o Cyrkwj Czeske*, (*The History of the Bohemian Church*,) in manuscript, (part I. chapter iii.) which has been compiled by some Lutheran Bohemians at Berlin.

1. At *Dresden* a Bohemian congregation was begun about the year 1670. *Samuel Martinus*, a Lutheran minister at *Prague*, came first with several hundred persons of distinction to *Pirna*, from whence the elector took them to *Dresden*, and made them a grant of *St. James's Church* \*.

2. At *Zittau*, in the very beginning of the persecution, a congregation was gathered, which, in the year 1670, already amounted to 900 souls.

3. *Neusalz* in *Misnia*, so called from lord *De Salza*, not far from the village *Spremberg*, about nine miles from *Herrnhut*, was also built by the Bohemians about the year 1670, and soon became a considerable town. But in process of time, part of the Bohemians withdrew from thence, and the remainder became so entirely germanized, that, at this day, excepting a very few ancient people, none of them understand the Bohemian tongue. But yet, their minister must, according to the old statutes, be always a native of *Bohemia*, and preach the sermon at his induction in that language.

\* This *Martinus* was an adversary of the Bohemian Brethren, and wanted to compel such of them as were already come to *Pirna*, to abandon their own confession and church-order, and to join his congregation. They defended themselves against him by an apology. Finding he could avail nothing against them by polemical writings, he went to *Dresden*; and, by the interposition of the court-chaplain, Dr. *Hoe of Hobenek*, procured a mandate from the elector, commanding them either to embrace the Lutheran liturgy, or to quit the country. Some complied, but others were obliged to go again into exile, and repaired to *Lissa* in *Poland*; among whom was *Paul Fabricius*, who became afterwards a bishop of the Brethren.

## 64 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

4. *Gebhardsdorf*, on the confines of Bohemia, not far from *Greiffenberg* in Silesia.

5. *Etzdorf*, near *Lauban*. Both these places have now only a Bohemian reader.

The village of *Wespen* in the county of *Barby*, or properly *Wespane*, (*Herrendorf*) was also built by the Bohemians; but is now grown so totally German, that only very few of them understand the Bohemian language.

Pastor *Augustin Schulz*, Bohemian minister at Berlin and *Ruekdorf*, in the historical Introduction to his Church-Book, still farther makes mention of *Upper* and *Lower Erdmannsdorf* in Upper Lusatia.

So late as in the present century, about the year 1725, considerable colonies of Bohemians were formed at *Groß Hennerdorf* and *Gerlachshiem* in Upper Lusatia. But they, partly in 1732, and partly in 1737, withdrew again, and settled at Berlin.

### § 48.

“ THERE has, indeed,” (writes the above-mentioned *Augustin Schulz* in the place referred to) “ never happened so large and conspicuous an emigration from Bohemia and Moravia, at any one time, as that of the Salzburgers about the year 1730; which amounted to above thirty thousand souls. nor could it be, as none compelled the Bohemian and Moravian lords to suffer all who chose it to depart with bag and baggage. So far from it, that these kept a strict watch upon their subjects, lest they might lose them; and the subjects themselves were not inclined, till forced to it by the greatest distress of mind, to seek liberty of conscience with the loss of all their property, and exposing their persons to the greatest dangers. And yet, if we could sum up the whole number of all those who since 1624, either singly, or in small

"companies, fled at different times into many different countries, their number would be, perhaps, two or three times as large as the emigration from Salzburg."

"Touching the care of souls" (proceeds Augustin Schulz in the same place, c. viii.) "most of these good people fell into the hands of bad shepherds, who were themselves unacquainted with the state of their own souls. They were, for the greatest part, satisfied, if their people lived in a quiet and honest manner, a foundation for which had been laid in Bohemia, through the terror of their consciences. They were applauded as highly blessed, having, with the loss of every thing, embraced the Protestant confession. Their posterity, in a great measure, are degenerated, and have conformed to the manners of those among whom they lived. Since the times of the Bohemian Brethren, to the year 1720, nothing has been heard of any extensive awakening, and much less of any good constitution and care of souls, among the Bohemians,"

§ 49.

How it went with the exiles, descended from the Brethren's congregations, Comenius, about the year 1660, in the Church-History of the Bohemian Brethren, § 126, relates briefly thus :

"Those, who were dispersed by thousands in the neighbouring kingdoms, that they might remain faithful to God, were either disheartened on account of the hardships of their exile, and did not persevere in their steadfastness ; or, through the long continuance of their tribulations, decreased in such a manner, that at present only a small remnant of us is left."

In Poland, indeed, they kept to the congregations of the Brethren ; but in other countries they did not obtain permission to settle particular congregations, and to observe their

## 86 ANCIENT HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

their own order and discipline. Nor were they very much intent upon it; because they always entertained hopes of returning, some time or other, into their own country, and regaining the liberty they had lost. In the mean time, they lost themselves more and more among other nations and religions; and had, at length, so entirely departed from that which was true and real among them, which was even among their ancestors upon the decline, that at last the Bohemian Brethren were hardly known any more, and few of their posterity recollected their descent. Nevertheless, God, who has promised to deal graciously with them that love him and keep his commandments, unto the thousandth generation, according to his mercy, held his hand over them, and awakened many, not only in Bohemia and Moravia, but in every Protestant country in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, Prussia, Poland, Silesia, Hungary, and Transylvania, whom he brought to the renewed church of the Brethren; and there made use of some of them with blessing; whose names attest it, and who have learned from their parents and grand-parents, that they left Bohemia for the sake of the Gospel\*. Many such families have also distinguished themselves, in the places where they dwelt, by their peculiar godly walk and education of their children. These rejoiced heartily at the renewal of grace in Moravia, and wished all prosperity to the revived church of the Brethren.

\* This has been particularly the case in Upper Lusatia and in Silesia; where, about the time when the awakening began in Moravia, a great many, whose descent was from Bohemia and Moravia, and who had been quite lost among the Germans, were touched by grace, joined themselves with the rest to the Moravian Brethren, and part of them moved into the congregation-places, or settlements.



## § 50.

As to the Protestants that staid behind in Bohemia, some few of them willingly received the doctrinal articles of their adversaries; and these few who did, in order to show their zeal, became the worst traitors and most bitter persecutors of the rest. Most of them, and many more than those who forsook their own country, professed them with their mouths; or, at least, conformed outwardly to the church-ceremonies, from fear of death and imprisonment, and out of love to their possessions, though with deep remorse of conscience, which impelled many, as soon as they could find an opportunity, to testify their repentance in the presence of a Protestant congregation, and to desire to be reconciled to them. Possibly, most of them may, by degrees, have become used to this kind of hypocrisy; and the children, whom they were obliged to educate in the religion of the country, grew up in a great measure in ignorance. But many of them hid their Bibles and other Protestant books very carefully, often from their own husbands or wives, from their children and servants whom they could not trust; read them secretly, and, occasionally, edified their families with them. Whenever they travelled into Protestant countries, they received the holy communion, and brought new books with them, notwithstanding the endeavours used to prevent it, and the punishment inflicted upon those with whom they were found. I could, from verbal and written accounts of Brethren who came out of Moravia and Bohemia, relate many things concerning their private meetings, concerning the indulgence of their clergy, and the various expedients used to keep them quiet, and concerning the persecutions and manifold vexations, whereby they endeavoured to bring those who were discovered to a recantation; had I not solid reasons for passing them over in silence.

Now, although a great number of them fell asleep, and all means were used totally to extinguish the sparks covered with ashes ; yet the Lord still has known how to preserve a multitude of secret disciples, and, very probably, more than the seven thousand in the days of Elias ; and has made use of precisely the same methods to preserve and propagate the truth, by which the adversaries sought to destroy it and them.

As long as the Protestant lords could venture to reside in Moravia and Bohemia, which continued no longer than the year 1628, the remaining Protestants were not without opportunities of edifying themselves in fellowship ; for the domestic tutors of such lords were mostly teachers and ministers of the church. As these tutors performed divine service in the mansion-houses of the lords, their Protestant vassals partook of this privilege. Yea, according to the account given by *George Holyk*, who was a Bohemian minister, these meetings for edification in the chapels of the mansion-houses continued in some places till the year 1650 and longer. The holy communion was also administered, but in great secrecy. After the total expulsion of the Protestant lords, the hidden Brethren were visited, and ministered unto with the word and sacraments, by ministers of the Unity from Upper Silesia. They were, more especially, visited by ministers of the Brethren from *Skalitz in Hungary*, to which place many of the expelled Brethren, and also ministers of the Unity, had retired at the beginning of the war of thirty years. At their visits in the district of *Fulnek*, they were secreted, during their stay, by *Martin Schneider* and *Tanneberger*. These visits having been discovered, the said two men were cast into prison, and should have been executed ; which, however, was prevented by a wonderful interposition of God. The sons of Martin Schneider endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, after the departure of their father, to keep up and further the work of God. Comenius laboured unweariedly at a distance, for the edification of the Brethren left behind in his native country.

He

He did, this by several printed books, as, *Ratio Disciplina et Ordinis ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum*; the German and Bohemian Hymn-Books of the Brethren; *Manuale Biblicum*; the Catechism of the Brethren, &c. These books he sent by faithful assistants both to the scattered Brethren, and to those yet remaining in their native country. He especially used to this purpose, about the year 1663, the service of *John Kopulansky*, who visited in Moravia, Hungary, and Poland.



THE  
MODERN HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRETHREN.

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PART I.

*From the Awakening among the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, and their Emigration in 1722, to the Renewal of the Unity of the Brethren in 1727.*

§ 1.

AT the beginning of the eighteenth century, just about the year 1701, a new emotion took place in Bohemia, which spread in many places. Such as lived on the confines of Silesia made use of the liberty, which, about the year 1706, was procured for the Protestants in Silesia by the convention with the king of Sweden, and went often thither to church. But this liberty being again abridged about the year 1717, a more vigilant eye was kept upon the Bohemians too. Many of them emigrated, and settled among their own country-people in Upper Lusatia; and even built here and there places for themselves, where they dwelt alone. True it is, that most of them contented themselves with the external free exercise of their religion.

But

But yet, there were, in several places, souls earnestly concerned for a true change of heart and the assurance of salvation; although they knew not wherein it consisted, or how to obtain it.

The first solid awakening took place, as far as we know, about the year 1720, precisely one hundred years after the beginning of the persecution and devastation of the Bohemian church \*. These awakenings began at the same time among the posterity of the Brethren, in the country about *Fulnek* in Moravia, and in the lordships of *Leut-mischel* and *Landscron*, where *Lititz* lies, in Bohemia, without their knowing any thing of each other. Both these districts, as appears from the *Ancient History of the Brethren*, § 13, were, from the beginning, principal seats of the Unity of the Brethren. Indeed, we will not deny the existence of new and special awakenings in several other parts of Bohemia, of which we meet with charming traces here and there. But yet, I must here confine myself purely to the awakening in Moravia, from whence sprang the renewed church of the Brethren; and shall only, from time to time, mention so much of the awakening and emigration out of Bohemia, as is subservient to the elucidation of the main subject.

\* It is well worthy of observation, that the principal events in the Bohemian church, and particularly with respect to the suppression and renewal of the same, have commonly occurred one hundred years after certain great revolutions. In the years 1415 and 1416, the witnesses of the truth, *Hus* and *Jerom*, sealed their testimony with martyrdom. In 1517 God raised up the great witness *Luther*. In 1609 the Bohemians obtained the Imperial grant for the free exercise of their religion, and about the year 1709, they took breath again, by obtaining church-liberty in Silecia. In 1617 began the oppressions in Bohemia; and in 1717 their resort to Silecia was cut off. After the battle in 1620, the Bohemians lost their liberty; and in 1720 the awakening began to break out among them. In 1624, and 1627, the Unity in Bohemia was totally destroyed, and in 1724 and 1727 it was again renewed.

§ 2.

IN *Fulnek*, formerly the cure of Comenius, the last Bohemian-Moravian bishop, and in the circumjacent villages, a numerous seed of the Brethren still lay hid; who, though obliged outwardly to conform by degrees to the worship of the established religion, yet in stillness preserved and often read the holy scriptures, the Brethren's hymn-book, and other edifying books of their fore-fathers, and also of the Lutherans and Reformed. Every morning and evening, especially on a Sunday, they assembled themselves, not without the knowledge of the magistrates. They governed their families according to the order handed down to them from their fathers. They even had the holy communion in secret. But they suffered, from time to time, a strict examination, were punished, and deprived of such books as they could not conceal. The inhabitants of this town talk to this day of *Piuards*, and relate, that their last minister *Amos* (Comenius), whom they call a wife and a learned man, had, during the Spanish war, or the war of thirty years, retired into Holland and England. They also show the house where he preached; which, after a great fire, has been rebuilt for a hospital for men, still bearing the name of *Zbor*, the *Assembly*, or, the Meeting-house.

According to the accounts of the Brethren, which they have received from their fathers, the church at *Zauchtenthal*, near *Fulnek*, was the last which was taken away from them. The Romish priests had promised the Brethren, in order gradually to gain them over, or to lull them asleep, to administer the Lord's supper to them in both kinds; and, to this end, made use of the rinsing of the cup, commonly called, the *rinsc-cup*. But even this having been withheld from them, they administered the holy communion in stillness among themselves.

Among the ancient men, who kept up the meetings of the Brethren, maintained truth in the inward parts among them, and

and comforted them with the hopes of an approaching renewal of the church of the Brethren; *Martin Schneider* of *Zauchtenthal*, and the *Zeisbergers* and *Jaschkes* of *Sehlen*, who lived at the time of the great dispersion, are still in blessed memory. After their decease, *Samuel Schneider*, who, about the year 1710, departed this life with great joy, and the *Nitschmanns*, continued the meetings, and, in conjunction with their assistants in the circumjacent villages, kept up brotherly fellowship. In the years following, they were forced to have their meetings in much greater privacy, and at last, to confine them entirely to family-devotions. Upon this, many fell asleep. The apprehension of incurring danger and detriment, the loss of their goods, fines and imprisonment, or the flatteries of the world, had such influence, that they conformed themselves to it more and more; and, although with incessant remorse of conscience, complied with the usual ceremonies of the established church. This was the state of affairs in Moravia, when God heard the prayer, which Comenius had made upon his flight a century before, when upon the mountains, having once more turned his eyes towards his orphan-flock in and about *Fulnek*, he with his company fell down, and supplicated everlasting Mercy, that he would, however, be pleased not to depart from them, but in his own time to visit them again.

### § 3.

There were, among others, in the village of *Sehlen* five own brothers, the *Neiffers*, who, pursuant to an exhortation of their dying grandfather, to adhere to the true doctrine, together with their cousins, the *Jaschkes*, as also with the *Schneiders*, the *Nitschmanns*, and others, in *Zauchtenthal* and the rest of the villages, met often with a view to mutual edification by the word of God. A discharged soldier from Silesia brought them, in 1715, several books for edification, and made them acquainted with the Lutheran ministers

ministrers at the Protestant tolerated church at *Teschén*; whose preaching they afterwards often attended with blessing. But God made chiefly use of the late *Christian David*, as the blessed instrument in his hand amongst his own country-people, through whom not only a new fire of the love of Jesus was enkindled in many hearts in *Moravia*; but the following emigration of so many families was promoted. He had, several years before, left *Senfleben* in *Moravia*, and attended, on his travels, the divine service in the Lutheran church at *Berlin*. In *Goerliz*, where he worked at his trade as a carpenter, he had been powerfully awakened through the sermons and the conversation of the Rev. Mr. *Schaefer*, and also of the Rev. Mr. *Schwedler* of *Niederwiese*. In the year 1717, he came to the before-mentioned descendents of the ancient Brethren, and inquired what was the aim of their particular meetings. He conversed with them about the true conversion of the heart, and directed them how to read the Bible to a profitable purpose, advising them at the same time to fervent prayer. They, thus, obtained a greater knowledge of themselves, and an earnest and sincere purpose of mind to be truly converted. But as they, in their situation at that time, could expect no furtherance, but rather mere hinderances, they besought him to procure them a reception in some Protestant country. Mean while that he gave himself much and fruitless trouble about this, they attended the sermons in the tolerated Protestant church at *Teschén*; and, in 1720, became in particular acquainted with that blessed servant of God, *John Adam Steinmetz*, afterwards abbot of the Protestant cloister of *Bergen*. He dissuaded them from an emigration out of *Moravia*, alledging that they would every where meet with great corruption, with hinderances to their conversion, and with persecutions, which were the lot of genuine Christians. And as *Christian David* himself could find no one who would venture to receive them, they were deeply distressed.



## § 4.

At length, *Christian David*, by means of the Rev. Mr. *Schaefer* at Goerliz, and the student *John Andrew Rothe*, at that time private tutor to baron *De Schweinitz* of *Leube*, became acquainted with *Nicholas Lewis*, count of *Zinzendorf* and *Pattendorf*; who, after his return from his travels, in May 1721, intended to purchase an estate in the neighbourhood of his grand-mother, lady *De Gersdorf* of *Groß Hennersdorf*, relict of the president of the privy-council, and lord-lieutenant of Upper Lusatia, by whom he had been educated. The count's design in this was, to labour, in conjunction with some pious minister, for the salvation of the souls of his subjects. He had pitched upon *Middle* and *Lower Bertholdsdorf*, belonging to his grand-mother, which border upon *Groß Hennersdorf*, another estate of her's. He obtained it from her with much difficulty, as her inclination was rather to see him employed at court, than spending his time in the country. Scarce was the deed of conveyance executed, when the then incumbent, from whom he could promise himself no encouragement and support in a design of so salutary a nature, departed this life. In his place, on the day when he received the homage of his subjects, being May 19th, 1722, he presented the before-mentioned student *Rothe* to the living; having, some time ago, conceived a very good opinion of him, and being prepossessed in his favour on account of his unfeigned piety and singular talent in preaching\*. Upon this, the count returned to *Dresden*, where he, in 1721, in obedience to his grand-mother, had accepted a post in the administration.

\* In his vocation are these memorable words: "I am ye you shall find rather a faithful assistant and dear brother, than a patron.—Do you carefully see to it, that you help me thus to labour in the Lord, &c."

To this nobleman, whose grand-father had left Austria for the sake of the gospel, and who, even in the tenth year of his age, had formed the resolution of becoming a preacher of the gospel, though, for the present, in compliance with the will of his relations, he was obliged to alter it; was *Christian David* led in the year 1721, by an especial direction of Divine Providence, to solicit a reception of some Moravian families. He obtained for answer, that they might come whenever they pleased; he should endeavour to provide for them in such places, where their emigration should be attended with no disturbances; and that he would, meanwhile, receive them at Bertholdsdorf. But his endeavours were in vain. He was the very person they were destined for, in order that, through this seed of the blessed of the Lord, the work, which God had designed to execute through him among Christians and Heathens, should be promoted.

§ 5.

UPON this intelligence, the two brothers *Augustin* and *Jacob Neisser*, cutlers by trade, with their wives and four children, their cousin *Michael Jaeschke*, and a girl, *Martina Neisser*, daughter of the sister of *Augustin Neisser's* wife, set out on their journey, on the Wednesday in Whitfun-week 1722; and, under the guidance of *Christian David*, came, without any molestation, to the Rev. Mr. Schwedler, at *Niederwiese*, and from thence to the Rev. Mr. Schaefer at Goerliz. Having been there entertained for a week, *Christian David* and the two *Neissers* were, with a letter of recommendation written by the student *Rothe* to Mr. *Marche*, sent to *Groß Hennersdorf*, where they arrived on the 8th of June. This gentleman presented them to the count's grand-mother. Mr. *Haitz*, master of the count's household, mentioned their arrival to the count, then at *Dresden*, and wrote June 10th, among other things, as follows:

H

“ Her

“ Her ladyship dispatched them immediately hither to  
 “ *Bertholdsdorf*\*, giving them a billet addressed to me;  
 “ signifying, where she thought it would be best for them  
 “ to build their houses, and that I should promise these  
 “ people all possible assistance towards their settlement. But  
 “ these good people were at present only in quest of a re-  
 “ treat, which they, with their wives and children, might  
 “ creep into for shelter, till the houses should be built; which  
 “ Mr. *Rathe* also begs for in the letter he sent by them to  
 “ me.” He, thereupon, farther informs us, that, having  
 appointed them a place on that part of the estate, called,  
 The *Lehngut*, and, whilst they were gone to fetch their  
 wives and children, consulted lady *Gerisdorf* at *Hennersdorf*  
 about the farther steps to be taken in this affair; upon which  
 it was found proper that they should settle rather upon some  
 spot by themselves, than in the village. To this end, and  
 with a view to their support, he had proposed to them the dis-  
 trict near the *Hutberg*, on the high road to *Zittau*; and to  
 the objection that there was no water there, he answered,  
*God is able to help* that the next morning, before sun-rise,  
 he went to the said place, to observe the rising of the va-  
 pours, in order to conclude from thence, where a well might  
 be dug. “ The morning after that, (writes he) I did the  
 “ same, when there was not a person near me. I laid the

\* Mr. *Marche*, then private tutor to a young lady *De Gerisdorf*, afterwards bookseller in *Goerlitz*, and who died in 1768 at *Herrn-  
 hut*; has, among other things, related to me, that he himself  
 conducted these Moravians to *Bertholdsdorf*; but, having missed  
 his way in the wood, came to the very spot where *Herrnhut* now  
 stands. Upon which it recurred to his mind, that once, riding  
 out with count *Zinzendorf*, in the year 1717, when the latter  
 greatly extolled the Institutions of *Halle*; he told him,  
 “ Here would also once such an Institution be established,” that,  
 for this reason, he gave the Moravians his advice to settle upon that  
 spot. But they showed no inclination for it, because it was at  
 that time a very wild and boggy place, where nothing grew but  
 wild bramble-bushes and brakes, and where the carriages of the  
 waggoners often stuck fast.

“ misery

“ misery and desire of these people before God with many  
 “ tears; beseeching him, that his hand might be with me,  
 “ and frustrate my measures, if they were any way displeas-  
 “ ing to him.—I said farther to him, ‘ Upon this spot I  
 “ will in thy Name build the first house for them.’ In the  
 “ mean time the Moravians came with their families to the  
 “ farm-house, (Lehngut) whom I assisted to the best of my  
 “ power, and then went to Hennersdorf to acquaint my  
 “ lady with the resolution I had taken. She made no ob-  
 “ jection, and immediately sent the poor strangers a cow,  
 “ that they might be furnished with milk for their little  
 “ children; and ordered me to show them the trees to be  
 “ cut down for their building.”

Upon this, he farther relates, that they would have liked better to build in the village; but that he, with Mr. Marche, having brought them to the aforementioned spot; showed them every advantage for building and for their future livelihood. This was very agreeable to Mr. Marche, as well as to Christian David, the carpenter. The former encouraged them, and, upon one of their women’s objecting, where they were to get water in this wilderness? he replied, *If ye will believe, ye shall see the glory of God in this desert place.* Christian David, striking his carpenter’s axe into a tree on the same spot, uttered these words, *Here bath the sparrow found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself; even thine altars, O Lord of hosts!*

## § 6.

THUS the timber being appointed them, they, on the 17th of June, felled the first tree for the first house in *Herrn-but.* “ They are now (writes Mr. Heitz to the count, July 8th) “ full of courage and chearfulness, intending, “ even before winter, to build an house for themselves, and “ to do all the carpenter’s work themselves, without the  
 H 2 “ assistance

" assistance of any other person." And this they effected, amidst all poverty and weakness of body: for they were obliged to put up with very spare and low food; and, amidst many a taunt of the travellers passing by, they trusted with a living confidence in that very God who led Abraham, whilst he was yet alone, out of his own country, and from amongst his own kindred, into a strange country, multiplying him into a numerous people, and making him a blessing to many nations. Nor could Christian David, Mr. Marche, and the Rev. Mr. Schaefer refrain, upon occasion, to intimate such hopes to others. The first showed those friends who came to see the building, the future streets of the city; and the last, in his sermon preached on the induction of the Rev. Mr. Rothe on the 30th of August, made use of these words, " God will set up a light on this hill, which shall shine through the whole country. Of this I am confidently assured \*."

October 7th they entered their first house, and about Martinmas Mr. Heitz delivered a discourse at the dedication of it, on Isa. lxii. 6, 7.

*I will † set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem! which shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence; and give him no rest, till he establish; and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.*

All present were much affected, and Christian David concluded with a fervent prayer, and with the hymn, *Jerusalem, God's city thou*, &c.

Thus the beginning of the building of *Herrnhut* was made in the absence of the count, and, in a great measure, without his knowledge or having any hand in it. An account of it, 'tis true, was given him; but, by a petition from the exiles, that he would receive them on his domain, it appears, that he took no right cogni-

\* See the letter of introduction, written by the count; in which, among other things, he exhorts the Moravians to prove a salt amongst his subjects. *Budingens Collection*, Vol. I. p. 667.

† According to Luther's version.

zance of the matter, till after his return from *Bertholdsdorf*, where he had espoused, on the 7th of September, the countess *Ermuth Dorothea Reuss*. For when, on the 21st of December, he was conducting his lady to *Hennerdorf*; and, having descried from the road an house in the wood, he signified his surprise, but also his satisfaction; went in to these Moravians, and, bidding them welcome, fell with them upon his knees, and prayed. Soon after, he moved into his newly erected mansion-house at *Bertholdsdorf*.

The name of *Herrnhut* took, likewise, its rise from the master of the household, who concluded his report to the count the 8th of July, with these words:

“ God has given Mr. Marche great courage to engage in  
“ this work. May he bless it, according to his loving-  
“ kindness, and grant that your Excellency may build a  
“ city on the hill, called the *Hutberg*, [that is, *Watch-Hill*]  
“ which may not only stand under the guardianship and  
“ watch of the Lord; but where even all the inhabitants  
“ may stand upon the *Watch of the Lord*, (*des Herrn Hut*)  
“ so, that they may not hold their peace day nor night.”  
But yet this name was not current till 1724, when the minister, by occasion of praying at church for a pregnant woman, publicly made use of the appellation *Herrnhut*.

§ 7.

IN the mean time an awakening began at *Bertholdsdorf* among the inhabitants, through the zealous sermons of the Rev. Mr. *Rotbe*, the meetings for edification held by Mr. *Heitz*, master of the count's household, and Christian David's assiduous exhortations. Several awakened souls from other places joined the Moravian exiles; amongst whom I will only mention lady *Joanna De Zetzschwitz*, afterwards *baroness De Watteville*. This lady took some girls from other places under her inspection for education, and thereby laid

the foundation of the *Oeconomy* \* of girls at Bertholdsdorf, and afterwards at Herrnhut. Thus the count already found a company of twelve persons, who desired to experience that which the Head of his church has promised to his members: *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* Soon after, baron *Frederic De Watteville* arrived from Switzerland, who had, already in the Pædagogium at Halle, entered into a covenant with the count, to be the property of our Saviour, and to serve him in his kingdom among Christians and Heathens. Among these first persons, count *Zinzendorf*, baron *Watteville*, the Rev. Mr. *Schaefer* of Goerlitz, and the Rev. Mr. *Rothe* of Bertholdsdorf, more especially bound themselves to promote the kingdom of God in their own and other places, wheresoever the Providence of God should give them an opportunity. *An History of the four united Brethren is extant in manuscript, which gave rise to the Special History of a little Household of Grace, which took place in the last times of the Church, being the first Appendix to Lewis count of Zinzendorf's Natural Reflexions*  $\pi\epsilon\gamma\lambda\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ .

These were the small beginnings of that Household of Grace, which afterwards, like the *gram of mustard-seed*, Mark iv. 31, 32. became a *tree*, in whose branches many thousands of Christians and Heathens have found a secure habitation and a salutary pasture for their souls.

### § 8.

THE emigration of the two *Neiffers* from Moravia involved their three brothers, *George*, *Hans*, and *Wenzel*, who remained behind, in great difficulties, being made responsible for them, and required to declare what was become of them: upon which they were imprisoned. As soon as they were released, they requested permission of their lords, the

\* This is the name usually given to the Schools of the Brethren. (The Editor.)

Jesuits of Olmuetz, to emigrate. But, instead of obtaining it, they were threatened with being imprisoned again and put into the Inquisition. Upon this, leaving all their possessions, they followed their brothers in stultness, in the month of August 1723, with their families, ten in number. Mr. Heitz obtained permission of the count to build the needful houses for these poor people also. They in the beginning found it very hard to maintain themselves with the work of their own hands: and yet, they were full of courage and faith.

Towards Christmas 1723, Christian David set out again for Moravia, and visited, this time, also in the other villages where descendents from the ancient Brethren lived. By his conversations a great emotion was occasioned in the whole district, and especially at *Zauchenthal* and *Kunewald*; to which, amongst other things, the powerful testimonies of *David* and *Melchior Nitschmann*, who frequently held meetings the whole night through, greatly contributed. But the latter suffered a severe imprisonment on that account. In several places they came together by hundreds, singing, praying, and “speaking concerning Jesus, and concerning “the everlasting mercy of the Father, which, through the “Son and his cross and death, had flowed upon mankind, “and which must be sealed by the Holy Ghost. This was “the sole foundation of these lively heroes.—Little children, which could scarcely talk, lifting their hands up to “heaven, cried to the everlasting Love, &c.” as it is expressed in the *Newest Account of the History of the Bohemian Brethren*, § 30. 32. The ancient people were still more animated by the singing and praying of the children, and by their incessant importunities to turn with them to Jesus; and the uncommonly joyful departure of a little girl out of time, inflamed them with desire of obtaining the assurance of the forgiveness of sins, and of salvation.



## § 9.

THIS awakening, and the numerous meetings of the people, made a great noise. They were summoned before their superiors, and threatened with galley-slavery and capital punishments; and many actually suffered hard imprisonment, and others, severe corporal punishments. However, these proceedings had only the effect of bringing more upon the resolution to emigrate. The first were five young and lively men, namely, *three David Nitschmanns, John Toeltschig, and Melchior Zesberger*. They were, May 1st 1724, brought before the court, and threatened with imprisonment, if they did not desist from meeting together. To avoid this, they took the resolution of leaving the country in the night of the succeeding day. Having got out of the village, they, falling upon their knees, recommended themselves, and their Brethren left behind, to the preservation and providence of God, and then joyfully entered upon their pilgrimage; singing the hymn, *Bless'd day when I must depart, &c.* which their forefathers had sung an hundred years before upon their exile. To prevent their being overtaken, they took their way over a ridge of pathless mountains. Their view was, to seek children of God; and they expected to meet with such in all the Lutheran villages. But their enquiries and discourse were not acceptable. They were reproachfully called *Pietists*, and threatened to be informed against, and delivered up. Even sincere persons were afraid to have any thing to do with them. Such treatment had almost induced them to turn back. Their first design was to have gone into Poland, and, in case they should find no Bohemian Brethren there, to go into Holland, where their last bishop Comenius had finished his race; but they resolved upon the road, first to visit their Brethren out of Moravia, now in Saxony, and particularly Christian David, he having  
proved

proved a great blessing and encouragement to them. In Niederwiese the Rev. Mr. Schwedler received them with much joy and love. They were greatly encouraged by his hearty prayer, his address to them full of faith, and representation of their descent from a church of martyrs; and confirmed in their hope of meeting with still more children of God. Thus they arrived at Herrnhut on the 12th of May.

### § 10.

HERE the Brethren were just upon the point of laying the foundation of a great house, in which the united friends of the count intended to establish an institution for the education of children of the noblesse, for printing at a cheap rate the bible and other edifying books, and for good medicines for the service of their neighbours; in which house was afterwards the meeting-hall of the congregation at Herrnhut. The count, who was lately come from Dresden on a visit, was prevailed upon to consent in this undertaking, although he was well aware that an enterprize of this nature, made in imitation of another flourishing and blessed institution, would expose him to much envy and evil report: which, having accordingly ensued, soon put a stop to the designs which were not agreeable to their original plan. The count came from Hennersdorf with the Rev. Mr. Schaefer to the laying this foundation-stone at Herrnhut. When the five Brethren out of Moravia, who were just then arrived, were presented to him, they (as one of them writes in his account) were ready to call his piety in question; because he, in their opinion, received both them and the recommendatory letter from Mr. Schwedler with far too much coolness and indifference. They went, however, with the other inhabitants, to the building-place. The count opened the solemnity with an uncommonly emphatical discourse,

concerning the design of this structure; wishing, among other things, that God would either prevent it, or soon bring it again to nought, should it not prove conducive to the promotion of his glory. "This expression" (as it is said in the above account) "filled us with an holy awe; and when, " directly after, baron Watteville kneeled on the foundation-stone, and, amidst many tears of all present, offered up such an heart-affecting prayer, as we never had heard before, we were perfectly convinced that this was the very spot our feet were to rest upon." Hereupon the celebrated Mr. *Mülle*, amanuensis to professor *Frank*e at Halle, who was also just come to this solemnity, struck up the *Te Deum laudamus* with a joyful voice.

## § II.

THESE five just-mentioned Brethren from *Zaubtenthal* had, from the relation of their fathers and grand-fathers, and from the ancient hymns of the Brethren, still retained an idea and impression of the church-constitution of their forefathers in Bohemia and Moravia; of which they soon began to speak at Herrnhut. They insisted upon it, that the salutary discipline and order of their fathers ought to be renewed. When they happened to come into a controversy on this head with the other inhabitants and neighbours, and the count, the Rev. Mr. Rothe, and other friends, would not, according to their insight at that time, agree with and assist them in it; they called every thing in question, and were in the beginning several times ready to take up their staves, and to go farther. This induced the count to enquire more particularly into the history and constitution of the ancient church of the Brethren; and this proved the occasion to the subsequent regulations at Herrnhut, as we shall see hereafter. Consequently these five Brethren are to be considered as the instruments

struments which the Lord used to the renewal of the church of the Brethren. They all had afterwards the most important functions in it committed to them, except one of the aforesaid three Nitschmanns, who ended his race on Maundy-Thursday 1729 in prison, after three years confinement for the sake of the gospel, which he attempted to bring to his country people in Moravia. Some of the five Brethren labour still in different congregations with blessing\*.

Soon after, more followed them, and, among the rest, the young witness of Jesus, *Melchior Nitschmann*, mentioned in § 8, who, on account of the meetings he held in Moravia, had been a long time in prison, and was there treated most unmercifully; but was at length set free with derision. He came to Herrnhut Dec. 24th, 1724; and was in 1727 one of the first elders of the congregation. *David Nitschmann*, the father of this faithful witness, who in 1758 departed at *Bethlehem* in Pennsylvania, a venerable patriarch, in the 84th year of his age; and his fellow-prisoner *David Schneider*, whose forefathers had been ministers of the Brethren, and, after the dispersion, witnesses of the truth, disengaged themselves in a wonderful manner from their fetters, and escaped into Silesia. The former sent for his wife and his two youngest children, *John* and *Anna*, and arrived at Herrnhut Feb. 24th, 1725. But the latter was obliged to wait some time for his family, during which interval he was prevailed upon by various persuasions to settle at Sorau, and to accept of a school, until, through a greater increase of the Brethren who had emigrated, both as to number and grace, and through a concern for the salvation of his children, he was induced to join the despised, and even then decried, little flock at Herrnhut; as he himself has related in an *Account of God's Dealings with him, till the Year 1734*.

\* At this time but one of these five Brethren is alive. (The Editor.)

## § 12.

AN oath, as a religious test, which they, from that time, would impose upon all suspected persons in Moravia, induced many more to seek their liberty. Those who sought nothing but the salvation of their souls, and, on that account, forsook their possessions, parents or children, friends and relations, were favoured with such success, that they were often able to free themselves from their chains in a wonderful manner, to leap from an high prison without hurt, to pass through the guards undiscovered in the open day, or to run away and hide themselves from them. Were they stopped on the road, the upright representation of the true end of their emigrating, and the piteous cries of their children, had such an effect, that they were suffered to pass. They were willingly received by their poor Brethren at Herrnhut. They learned, amidst diligent labour, and with the blessing of God, to forget by degrees, and be content without, their partly great and rich farms, and found opportunities of fetching away, without discovery, their parents, husbands or wives, children, and brothers and sisters, notwithstanding their being strictly watched. One, *Hans Nitschmann*, fetched out his sister with a child of eighteen days old. An apprentice-boy, *Frederic Boehnisch*, took a great round through the Empire and Austria, on his way back into Moravia, and brought out his parents, with his brothers and sisters; and a widow, whose name was *Berger*, who, upon her flight in an hard winter, could take only one child with her, being obliged to leave the least behind, went, several years after, and fetched that child too. But those who secretly disposed of their property, and took the money with them, or wanted to go off with loaded waggons, were frequently either betrayed, or, when they had got half way on their journey, stopped, and brought back again, or plundered of their

their effects. One of these, *Frederic Riedel*, having been half killed by robbers, was forced, being abandoned of all men, to travel above one hundred and twenty miles with about three pence in his pocket. If any came to Herrnhut without a purity of intention, not on account of the salvation of his soul, either from temporal views, or without a solid conviction, by persuasion, or in imitation of others; he was, after being entertained for some time, sent home again furnished with the needful expences for his journey, and an intercession to the magistrate on his behalf. For all new-comers were strictly examined about the true motives and circumstances of their leaving their own country, and their answers were minuted down by the court of judicature, in order that, if an enquiry should be made concerning the reception of foreign subjects, as might naturally be expected, a legal and satisfactory evidence could be given.

§ 13.

SUCH strictness was observed with all the new-comers from Moravia, in order to prevent any numerous and tumultuary emigrations. Thus continued the first emigration in silence, amidst many wonderful circumstances, until 1733; and yet produced some hundreds of confessors, who were indubitable descendents from the Brethren, and acknowledged so to be by their bishops of that time. The count who, till 1727, was mostly absent at Dresden, thought in the beginning, that only a few families of Protestants intended to settle on his domain, to whom he would not refuse his protection. But when it appeared that the emigration would increase, as some went, without his knowledge and consent, back into Moravia, in order to bring out their relations, on account of which many were put in prison, and which gave reason to apprehend that government would resent it; he not only signified his scruples, but also forbade,  
in

in 1724, that any should go into Moravia, and instigate others to an emigration; which he afterwards frequently repeated. But he could not, during his absence, absolutely restrain every one from showing this greatest act of kindness to his relations; nor could he even in conscience do it. To bring, however, this affair into proper order, he himself, in 1726, took a journey to *Krimst* in Moravia, to the cardinal bishop of *Olmutz*, and declared in a conference with the cardinal's brother, the Imperial privy-counsellor *De Schrattenbach*, upon what ground, and in what manner, he had hitherto received people out of Moravia. He then interceded in behalf of these people oppressed on account of their religion\*; urging that, in order to keep them in the country, they might, amidst the want of the free exercise of religion, show them, however, some indulgence, and not deprive such, as could not act against their conscience, of their property and liberty. To this he received for answer, that it was out of their power to show these people any indulgence; but it was the will of his Imperial Majesty, that they should not be hindered from emigrating in silence. But such as returned with a view to instigate others to depart, must needs take the consequences. The count promised that no occasion should be given for it on his side. The event has shown, that both he and the government of Moravia have kept their word; though this agreement has not always been observed by the inferior magistrates.

## § 14.

BUT yet, not even all the Brethren in the beginning could be restrained by this agreement, and by the repeated prohibition of the count; for they went secretly into

\* He did the same for the imprisoned *David Nutschmann*; who, having arrived at Herrnhut on the 12th of May 1724, had, upon his visit in Moravia, been taken up. But as he could effect nothing, he, however, by permission of the magistrates, had something conveyed to him for his present refreshment.

Moravia,

Moravia, to deliver at least their nearest relations. As to Christian David, who may be called an apostolical man in his way, and who esteemed his impulse, to help the Protestants to their freedom, as a divine call; he was so far from being prevailed upon by all the brotherly admonitions and warnings given him, that he still went several times into Moravia, though in evident danger of his life, and amidst amazing instances of the divine protection, in order to awaken the Brethren, who were fallen asleep, to a sense of the truth. In the year 1725, he took his route through Bohemia, in order to see whether any seed was left in the district of *Lititz*, the first seat of the Unity. And behold, he met with many Bohemians in some villages of the territories of *Landsern* and *Leitmschel*, who had been awakened about the same time when the awakening began in Moravia, without knowing any thing of it. He did not endeavour to draw them out, but only to confirm them in their good mind and search after the truth, leaving them to Providence and to the impulse of their own hearts, as to the time and manner of their seeking and finding the way to freedom. But, by the hard tribulations following immediately upon it, they became faint in their minds, and many of them fell asleep again; till, in the year 1730, by occasion of the imprisonment of a Moravian Brother from Herinhut, a new life sprung up among them, when many in stillness emigrated to *Gerlachshausen* in Upper Lusatia, and joined the Moravian Brethren, till in 1737 they found themselves under a necessity of going farther to Berlin and Rueksdorf \*. This emigration, however, must not be confounded with that great one of the Bohemians about the year 1726 to Grosse Hennerdorf, and in 1732 farther to Berlin.

\* Out of the *Life and Church-book* of their then minister *Augustin Schulz*; as also out of their subsequent minister *Zacharias Gelinck's Historical Account of their Awakening, Emigration, &c.* in manuscript, out of which more will be mentioned in its place.



of sanctity, unblamableness and devotion, most of the inhabitants, and even dear Christian David himself, to his side. This caused such distraction, that they fell into several parties about divers notions in doctrine, and exercises in the order of salvation; and moreover, about various proposals for a regulative among themselves. The minister, though else a very sensible and sincere man, endeavoured to compose and remove these confusions with more zeal than prudence; not only by his earnest addresses, but also by public refutations. But all he effected by it, was, that most of them absented themselves from the church and the holy communion, and many of the Moravian Brethren, who had left all their possessions for the sake of liberty of conscience, and would not, as they termed it, submit to a new compulsion of conscience, prepared to take up their staves and travel farther, in quest of liberty of conscience elsewhere.

## § 16.

THE count, against whom most of them were no less imbittered, than against the minister, seeking to preserve this little flock of faithful confessors of the truth, who had only been imposed upon by a false appearance, in the fellowship of the Protestant church, and to prevent an entire separation, or even as many hurtful sects as there were heads; did not content himself with sending from Dresden, in March 1727, to Herrnhut a declaration against the erroneous doctrines that were creeping in; but soon after obtained, from the government at Dresden, leave of absence for some months, repaired to Herrnhut, and disposed the minister, who could no longer yield to the increased minds of the people, and had entirely lost their confidence, to commit the cure of the Moravian Brethren to him. He examined into the origin and ground of this confusion, spoke with each person individually concerning the state of

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their hearts, and discoursed at the public meetings on the only ground of our salvation. He avoided entering into the merits of the several notions, and, wisely yielding to them in the external form, only endeavoured, first of all, to establish among them an union in the fundamental truths of the Protestant religion. In this manner, after many public and private interviews, in which he manifested an inexpressible love, patience and condescension, he succeeded so far, that on the 12th of May, after a discourse of three hours, they all united together, and gave their approbation to the statutes read to them, by giving their hands. These statutes, or this voluntary agreement concerning certain points of doctrine, moral conduct, and ecclesiastical and civil constitution, which had hitherto been controverted, were drawn up by the count, the Rev. Mr. Rothe, and Mr. Marche, the president of the court of judicature, afterwards burgomaster of Budissin, with the concurrence of the most considerable inhabitants of Herrnhut. They were on the 8th of July once more ratified, and on the 12th of August signed by all the inhabitants.

## § 17.

FROM this time, they kept again to the church at Bertholdsdorf, and whoever could not go thither, attended the repetition, which was delivered at Herrnhut partly by the count, and partly by the Rev. Mr. Rothe. But as this new settlement, both for its spiritual and temporal subsistence, required a special regulation, which the Moravian Brethren in particular urged very much; they were gratified in this respect too, in order to obviate any future separation. The congregation was called together on the 20th of May 1727, and some of the Brethren, who had a good testimony, were chosen elders, and confirmed by lot. The count and baron De Watteville were appointed wardens, in order, where necessary, to patronize the congregation, and to have an eye upon

upon the maintenance of good order and discipline. To these elders and wardens jointly, the direction of the congregation was committed both internally and externally. Besides the public service of God in the church, they held a meeting every morning and evening alternately in the hall at Herrnhut, enquired moreover into the people's state of heart, especially before the holy communion, and held frequent conferences together. For their ease, certain assistants were appointed; as, helpers, overseers, monitors, sickwaiters, almoners, servants, &c. The whole congregation was, according to the diversity of age and sex, divided into certain little companies, which were called *bands*, to tie the band of love still faster, and to further the inward growth; in which they spoke with confidence concerning the state of their souls, exhorted, encouraged, comforted, and prayed with, each other. But, to obviate any disorders, the two sexes kept themselves separate, each of them respectively associating, in their private edification, with their own sex.

HAVING, soon after, obtained *John Amos Comenius's History and Church-Constitution of the Bohemian Brethren*, published by Dr. Buddus, out of the city library of Zittau, and finding, to their joy, that their regulation, in all its inward and essential parts, was consonant with the church discipline and order of their ancestors; they resolved to abide by and prosecute it farther. Indeed, since that time, especially in 1728 and 1731, the question has often arisen among them, whether they should not, for peace sake, and to avoid evil reports and persecutions, lay aside their particular regulation? But this proposal did, both times, not take place, by a particular providence of God.

## § 18.

AFTER this mutual agreement, and the good regulation of the congregation at Herrnhut, love, simplicity, and confidence began again to rule among them, and the Spirit of

## 116 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part I.

God made use of several opportunities, especially a certain evangelical sermon, attended with a distinguished demonstration of the spirit and of power, and the holy communion, to bind their hearts still closer together, in a manner never to be forgotten. The former happened on the memorial day of the visitation of Mary, July 2d, 1727, when the often-mentioned Rev. Messrs. Schwedler and Schaefer were at Herrnhut on a visit, and, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Rothe, amidst an extraordinary concourse of people from all the circumjacent villages, preached in several places, in the forenoon at church and in the church-yard at Bertholdsdorf, and in the afternoon in the meeting-hall and in the public square at Herrnhut, from morning till night. When the multitudes of strangers were gone, there was the usual evening-meeting, at which the topic concerning the fellowship and mutual visits of children of God \*, touching which our Saviour has promised that he would be in the midst of them, as he had been with *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, according to the gospel appointed for that festival; was specially treated with the Brethren: and this gave occasion to the little companies, or *bands*, mentioned in the foregoing section.

The Brethren and Sisters, each in their respective order, having acquired a more thorough knowledge of each other's hearts, there began on a Sunday, being August the 10th, an universal awakening, by means of a conversation among the Brethren, which continued till late at night, and at which the Rev. Mr. Rothe was present. He, intending on the 13th of August to receive the sacrament with his family, invited the inhabitants of Herrnhut by an affecting letter to bind themselves anew with him. The congregation, who had for a long time been very desirous of enjoying the holy communion, attended him for that purpose.

*Mutua Fratrum Colloquia et Consolationes*, according to the Articles of Smalkald.

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"The minister" (according to an Account of that time in manuscript) "having confirmed two persons with a blessing truly apostolical; the whole congregation, during the singing of the hymn, *My soul before thee prostrate lies; to thee, its source, my spirit flies, &c.* † fell upon their knees, when the count, amidst a general melting of all the hearts, and floods of tears, made the public confession; supplicating for a true union of all the hearts, a freedom from any sort of schism, and from offence to those that are without, for the solid and unshaken foundation on the genuine theology of the blood and cross of Christ; and for establishing their Brethren and the many hundred awakened in other places, who had strayed into by-paths; and remembered finally the two absent elders *Christian David* and *Melchior Nitschmann* \*."

The Rev. Mr. *John Luke Siese*, minister of *Hennersdorf*, having pronounced the absolution with a remarkable emotion of his heart, the Brethren received the holy communion from him, during which their hearts were filled, in a manner they had never experienced before, with peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and with a cordial love to, and union with, each other; and they obtained the baptism of the Spirit into one body and one spirit, (1 Cor. xii. 13.) so indispensably necessary for a living congregation of Christ, which remains unforgotten by them and their posterity, and the commemo-

† See the Brethren's *Collection of Hymns*, Part i, p. 309.

\* These, being in the midst of a conversation with *David Schneider*, whom they visited at *Sablat* near *Sorau*, with a view of making him acquainted with the union of the Moravian Brethren, were moved by an invisible power, so, that they fell on their knees, and with a flood of tears offered up a prayer, almost the same in substance with that above; and, like *Eldad* and *Medad*, Num. xi. 26. were endowed with the same spirit of love and fellowship. The impression was so strong in them, that the very first question they asked on their return, was, what had passed in such an hour on the 13th of August at *Herrnhut*? "Would God that all the Silesian people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them."

## 116 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part I.

ration of which has, ever since, been solemnized on the anniversary of that day, by partaking of the holy communion in the church at Bertholdsdorf.

### § 19.

THUS, the year 1727, and particularly the 12th of May and the 13th of August, is that important period, when the church of the Brethren, which had, in a manner, expired an hundred years before in Bohemia and Moravia, was revived in their posterity, and an union established between the Brethren from Moravia both among themselves, and with their Lutheran and Reformed Brethren, in which, according to the expression of *Jablonsky*, at that time the eldest bishop of the Brethren, they distinguished themselves as the genuine posterity of the Agreement of Sendomir. On the 12th of May, agreeable to the prophet Ezekiel's vision, chap. xxxvii, the dry bones having been, as it were, brought together, they were, in the following days, by various useful regulations, covered over with sinews and skin, and, on the 13th of August, animated by the Spirit of the Lord; and so gradually qualified and made meet for activity, and for the service in the kingdom of God among Christians and Heathens. Hence the count used to call the 12th of May, which has also been farther distinguished in the following years by sundry other remarkable occurrences, *The critical Day*, upon which it was decided, whether Herrnhut should prove a nest of sects, or a living congregation of Christ. Indeed, not all the inhabitants were, at that time, convinced and recovered by the same Spirit of Christ to brotherly love and unity: but they were either overpowered, with the rest, by the extraordinary grace at the holy communion on the 13th of August; or dissented only in a secret and modest way: and such, as could not be quite recovered, retreated in silence from the place,

as the author of the late disturbance had done before, who was deprived of his senses by his spiritual pride.

I cannot, in this memorable year 1727, forbear to remark again the parallelism between the ancient and modern History of the Brethren, in some particulars. Just as the ancient Brethren went in 1450 and 1453 from Prague and other places to Lititz, and did not closely unite themselves, and regulate their congregation, till in 1457, and at length, in 1467, appointed their ministry, and obtained the episcopal consecration, in the same manner the modern Brethren gathered themselves together at Herrnhut since 1722 and 1724, were in 1727 bound together, and regulated as a congregation, and obtained their own ministry first in 1735 and 1737. In the years 1624 and 1627, the church of the Brethren was destroyed and dispersed in Bohemia; and precisely one hundred years after, in 1724 and 1727, it was gathered together, and renewed again, in Germany.

## § 20.

THE same grace which the congregation had experienced on the 13th of August, their children experienced likewise. There appeared, already on the 26th of May 1727, the first emotion in their hearts, by occasion of a discourse which the count delivered in the œconomy of girls in the house of baron De Watteville at Bertholdsdorf, upon the words of a verse, "Nothing is so dead and cold, to which thou couldst not give life." This emotion was the more joyous to him, as he had hitherto been deeply concerned on account of the evident want of spiritual life in their hearts.

But the real and abiding awakening of these children did not take place till the 17th of August, which arose from the testimony of a simple brother, *Grumpe*, whom the count had sent to Bertholdsdorf in June the same year, to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. In the mean



time, the remarkable work of grace in the soul of a girl of eleven years, proved, on the 6th of August, the occasion of the beginning of an extraordinary awakening among some girls, who lived with their parents at Herrnhut, which had also a great influence upon those at Bertholdsdorf, and upon their parents and the rest of the inhabitants. On the 29th of August these children were heard praying on the Hütberg with such fervor, tears, and singing of hymns, that, as it is related in the diary of Herrnhut, "it is impossible to describe it in words."

They entered at the same time into a covenant together, that they would be the entire property of our Saviour. It is worthy of being taken notice of, as something particular, that, though the most powerful emotions in children are apt to die away, as they advance in years, yet none of these children ever broke their covenant; and most of them became blessed handmaids of Jesus in the congregation of the Brethren.

There was also, during this period, a great emotion and awakening among the little boys at Herrnhut; yet this had not such blessed consequences, or such an abiding fruit, as attended the awakening among the girls.

Not long after this remarkable awakening among the children, the so-called *Country school*, or *Pædagogium*, which was established in the year 1724, was dissolved, as the intended purpose was not obtained by it; and, instead thereof, an Institution for the education of boys, under the inspection of *Melchior Nitschmann*, the elder of the congregation, and an Institution for girls, under the inspection of some sisters, were begun; both of which were carried on together many years under the denomination of, *The Orphan-house*.

At this time, the spirit of the witnesses of Jesus was stirred up in the inhabitants of Herrnhut, and particularly in the Moravian Brethren. They covenanted together to follow their Head Jesus Christ amidst shame and reproach, persecution,

secution, and the most cruel sufferings; and, like a light set upon an hill, to shine to others also, should it please the Lord to call them to it: In attestation of this, the first declaration of the congregation which was printed in the same year, 1727\*, *Chosen souls who now assemble*—In that *PELLA's Herrenhut, &c.* is worth consulting; in which these memorable words may be seen:

HERRNHUT shall exist no longer,  
Than the works of thine own hand  
Uncontroul'd rule in it's border;  
And be *love* it's sacred band!  
Till ripe for thee,  
And found worthy,  
As a good salt, to be scatter'd,  
That the earth thereby be better'd.

\* See the *Collection of Buedingen*, Vol. I. p. 24, and the Brethren's larger English *Collection of Hymns*, part ii. page 252. E

THE  
MODERN HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRETHREN.

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PART II.

*From the Renewal of the Unity of the Brethren by the  
Emigrants out of Moravia in 1727, to the first Com-  
mission at Herrnhut in 1732.*

§ 21.

THE renewal of the Unity of the Brethren, and of the witness-spirit of their forefathers, was attended with various consequences. The congregation-regulations were brought from time to time into better order. The congregation became known both far and near by good and evil reports. This gave occasion to verbal and written enquiries, to invitations into foreign parts and remote countries; to various visits and deputations of the Brethren in and out of Germany; to acts of love done both to those of the same confession of faith, and to other well-meaning persons, though in error; but also to a variety of trials both among themselves and from without. The hand of God was evident

ent in all this; which would cause this small candle, so contemptible in the eyes of the proud, to give light both far and near.

With regard to the farther *regulation* of the congregation, the Moravian Brethren had retained a deep impression of the order and church-discipline of their ancestors, and frequently insisted upon it, that something of this nature must needs be again established among them (§ 11, and 15.) But the count could not resolve to promote it, until in 1727, a short time before his journey into Silesia, *Comenius's Ecclesiastical History and Institutions of the Bohemian Brethren* came unexpectedly into his hands, out of the city-library of Zittau. He conferred with several divines, whether, and in how far, the church-discipline of the Bohemian Brethren, of which their descendents were so tenacious, was to be combined with the doctrine and public worship of the Protestant church? The thing itself they could not disapprove; and some even testified their particular joy on account of it; but, as to the way and manner, they advised that it might be so regulated, as would be consistent with the constitution of the country and the established religion. Thus the Brethren could not confine themselves too strictly to the standard of the former congregations in Bohemia and Moravia, but were obliged to form such regulations, as were necessary and useful to the inhabitants of Herrnhut at that time, leaving it to the guidance of God, to alter, or to add, from time to time, as it might be found proper.

Thus, during this period, the following regulations were made by degrees. Every day there was a meeting for edification at five in the morning for all, and half an hour after eight, another for the old and infirm, in which some portion of scripture was treated of; and in the evening a meeting for singing. In the first, questions relating to the heart and conscience, written by Brethren or Sisters on papers, which the teacher found on the table, were answered agreeable to the Bible and experience. In the last meeting, the text for the day

## 124 MODERN HISTORY *of the* BRETHREN, Part II.

day following was usually read; which every one was in stilness to reflect, and the teacher publicly to speak upon. In the year 1728 this text was made known by an helper, visiting from house to house; and this was called, *The Watch-word of the day*. Since the year 1731 these daily watch-words were printed beforehand for a whole year.

On Sundays and holidays they went to hear a sermon in the parish-church at Bertholdsdorf; and, for the sake of strangers, there was a meeting at Herrnhüt in the afternoon, which from thence got the name of, *The Strangers-meeting*. In the evening, the count, or some one of the helpers, delivered a discourse to the congregation, which was specially adapted to their situation; and this was called, *The Congregation-meeting*. And whereas the two sexes had been divided, according to their ages and conditions, into certain choirs; (§ 17.) short *homilies*, or exhortations, were, in the intervals, addressed to each of these divisions, setting forth, how they ought, according to their sex and condition, to walk worthy of the gospel.

Some single men, in 1728, moved together into a separate habitation. These the count himself took under his particular care; as the countess, his lady, did some single women. Upon their increasing in number, they were subdivided into certain *classes*, according to the difference of their inward growth; to the end, that each might be treated according to their situation. The same special care of souls was afterwards introduced among the other choir-divisions.

The reports of divers dangerous designs against the congregation, induced some Brethren and Sisters, as early as the year 1727, to unite themselves to a special *intercession*, and to supplicate the Lord every hour, both by day and night, for his counsel, protection and help. They divided the twenty-four hours in such a manner between themselves, that in each hour one or more of them presented themselves before

the Lord in prayer. At a weekly meeting the special subjects for their prayers to God, were laid before them.

The grace which always prevailed at the holy communion, kindled a desire in them to enjoy it more frequently than once a quarter; so, that in 1731 the congregation came to an agreement with the parish-minister, to have it administered to them every four weeks. The communicants were previously spoken with, and their state of heart enquired into, by the elders; upon which their names were given in to the minister. The holy communion was administered in the church of Bertholdsdorf; and after it, the congregation came together in the hall at Herrnhut, where the Brethren imparted the kiss of peace to the Brethren, and the Sisters did the same to the Sisters\*.

All the regulations, alterations, and the chief affairs of the congregation, were weighed, and resolved upon, in the conferences of the labourers; and, according to the exigency of the case, in a select assembly of the inhabitants, which was called, *The Congregation-council*; and, in dubious cases, the decision was made by lot.

\* The *Pedilavium*, or foot-washing, was indeed held, since the year 1729, by some few persons who thought themselves under an obligation to follow the command of Christ, John xiii, *It also ought to wash one another's feet*, simply and according to the letter; yet it was not done previously to the Lord's supper, and still less in the whole assembly of the congregation. It was not till after the spreading of the Brethren in foreign countries and in colonies, that some congregations held it, first, before every communion; but at present it is done but at certain seasons, as, upon Maundy-Thursdai, and on some other occasions. In general it is to be observed, that not all the regulations, as they now exist in the Brethren's congregations, took place during this period; neither did they all remain in the same form, nor have all the congregations the very same regulations; a liberty having been reserved for alterations and amendments; which the ancient Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia made use of at regulating their church-order, pursuant to the ancient canon, *Differentia Cereemoniarum non refcindit Unitatem Ecclesie*. (The difference in ceremonies does not abolish the unity of the church.)

The letters and accounts of absent Brethren and friends were read to the congregation at the meeting, for singing. But when these accounts began to accumulate, a special Day of prayer and thanksgiving was in 1728 set apart every month for this purpose; on which, after the consideration of a portion of holy writ, the accounts were read, and, at the conclusion, the present need of the congregation, and of the Brethren and friends absent, together with that of Christendom in general, was recommended to the Lord in prayer.

In the year 1730 the count resolved to lay down his office of warden, and the elders did the same. In the place of the latter, *Martin Linner* was chosen elder. Among the Sisters, out of whom elderesses of the congregation had been chosen since 1728, after the example of the ancient Brethren's church, the choice fell this time, by lot, upon *Anna Nitschmann*, whose youth was supplied by a rich measure of grace imparted to her, to be co-elderess of the congregation. She, soon after, on the 4th of May, entered into a covenant with seventeen single women, who were of the same mind with her, to devote themselves entirely to the Lord, and, among other things, to give no attention to any thoughts or overtures of marriage, unless they were brought to them, in the way of the ancient Brethren's order, by the elders of the congregation. This covenant gave afterwards occasion to the single Sisters celebrating, since 1745, every year, the 4th of May, as a memorial day, for a solemn renewal of their covenant.

Baron *Frederic De Watteville*, and *Tobias Frederic*, master of the count's household, received a commission, in 1729, according to the advice of the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. vi, to make a speedy end of, and to compromise, the differences which might arise between Brethren, without going to law. This was afterwards called, *The Congregation-judicature*; and, in the times following, *The College of Overseers*. But in order  
to

to preclude any litigation with such inhabitants, or their heirs, as should prove offensive and mischievous; it was unanimously agreed in 1730, that all the proprietors of houses should, immediately upon their beginning to build or to purchase, execute a bond, implying that they, or their heirs, would, in such case, sell their houses, and quit the place, that, thus, peace and good order might not be disturbed either inwardly or outwardly.

As the church-yard in Bertholdsdorf became too small, and the way to it was very inconvenient; a *burying-ground* of the congregation at Herrnhut was laid out in 1730, near the so-called Hutberg, with permission of the count, as lord and proprietor of the place; which, in respect to its regulation, more resembles a pleasure-garden, than a place of burial.

## § 22.

THE count, and the three Brethren in intimate union with him, (§ 7.) had, for a considerable time past, kept up a blessed and useful correspondence, not only with many great divines and statesmen, but also with noble families and princely personages, in and out of Germany. They were not unacquainted with the emigration of the Brethren out of *Moravia*, and their settlement at Herrnhut. The particular regulation of this new place, and the blessed publication of the gospel, by which a great stirring was occasioned in the circumjacent country, excited the attention of many sincere souls, both far and near. Many came to hear and see every thing themselves: and these either staid there, or carried a blessing home with them; by which means the good report of this work of God spread more and more. But neither were evil reports wanting. These gave occasion to enquiries, which were not left unanswered. The count, and other Brethren, were invited to several



## 128 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part II.

several places. This gave rise to *Deputations*, to Denmark in 1727, to Sweden and England in 1728, to Livonia in 1729, to Switzerland in 1730, and to France in 1731; and also to several places in Germany \*. I will only mention such of them, as have been immediately attended with important consequences, a little more circumstantially.

The first deputation after the blessed union of the Brethren, was made, in autumn 1727, to *Copenhagen*, to his royal highness prince *Charles of Denmark*. The Brethren *John* and *David Nitschmann* brought him, at his own desire, an account of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, of their emigration and settlement in Upper Lusatia. They were treated by him, and several other persons of rank, in a most kind and gracious manner. They had also an opportunity of communicating an account of their emigration and settlement, in several places on their journey, particularly to abbot *Breithaupt* at *Magdeburg*. The consequence of this deputation was not only the count's personal acquaintance at the court of Denmark, but also the missions among the Heathen in Greenland and in the West-Indies.

### § 23.

THE hereditary prince *Christian Ernest* of *Saxe-Saalfeld* had invited the count to an interview, intending to place him, some time hence, at the helm of the government of his country. In this, the count neither could nor would engage: yet, towards the end of the year 1727, he made a journey to *Saalfeld*, *Coburg*, *Bayreuth*, *Rudelsdorf*, &c. and had, in all these places, useful interviews with the

\* Such deputations, by which an account is brought to any person, either verbally or in writing, at his own request, must not be confounded with the missions to the Heathen; which did not begin till some time after.

reigning princes, and other persons of eminence, both in church and state; but did not neglect to seek and converse with people even of the lowest class, in whom he apprehended something real and good.

Upon his journey to Saalfeld, passing through Jena, he became acquainted with that eminent divine, *Buddeus*, and with several clergymen, masters of arts, and students. His conversation proved a singular blessing to many, who requested a farther information of the Brethren.

As some persons in *England* also desired an account of the Brethren, *David Nitschmann*, *John Toeltschig*, and *Wenceslaus Neisser*, senior, were, in 1728, sent thither. The elders of the congregation furnished them with a letter to Dr. Buddeus; in which they requested him to publish in German, for their use, *Comenius's History of the Bohemian Brethren*, written in Latin, which he had printed in 1702; giving him at the same time an account of their present constitution. He, in his answer, praised God for the mercy shown unto them, "which all," as he expressed it, "who were not blinded by earthly lusts, must admire;" and promised them to comply with their request\*. He furnished the three Brethren, who were on their journey to London, with a recommendatory letter to the Rev. Mr. *Ziegenhagen*, the king's chaplain, and caused the writings they had with them to be transcribed and translated into Latin by some students. These became thereby desirous of a closer acquaintance with the Brethren; and to that end entreated the count to visit them again.

#### § 24.

THIS gave the count an occasion to go again, in summer 1728, to Jena, with part of his family, consisting mostly

\* This, however, never was done, as he died soon after. The said History of the Brethren was printed in German at Schwabach in the year 1739.

of such persons as had devoted themselves to the service of the Lord. There were, at that time, above an hundred masters of arts and students ; who, instead of the national clubs, otherwise customary at universities, instituted meetings for mutual edification ; and, besides their other studies, taught poor children in the free-schools which were set up in the suburbs. These schools were continued from 1729 to the death of the late Mr. *Brunhard*, A. M. in 1742. These students endeavoured to profit by the count's presence. He gave them leave, as he also did to some citizens, to be present at the meetings of his family in Dantz's garden-house. They were greatly delighted with what they had read and heard of the church-discipline of the ancient Brethren, and of the union of their descendents at Herrnhut ; and requested the count to assist them in establishing such an union among them also, agreeable to the platform of the Moravian Brethren. Though he could not do this, yet he made some proposals to them, how they might, with the advice and under the direction of Dr. Buddeus, establish, by means of his pastoral and parænetic lectures, an Institution in form of a *Collegium pastorale prædicum*, or theological seminary, adapted to the circumstances of the university, and their own future destination. This Institution took place Aug. 12th, 1728 ; and may be read at large in the first Volume of the *Buedingen-Collection*, p. 431. But as they did not proceed in it in a simple manner, and took too many to it, and, moreover, depended too much on human authority ; the whole affair came to no consistence. As the late Dr. Buddeus hesitated to take upon himself the direction of it, and the theological faculty of Jena soon afterwards published a vindication of themselves from certain calumnies spread abroad concerning them, in which also the count's name and institutions were blended ; many, for fear of being suspected, withdrew themselves from it ; some of whom afterwards, under various pretences, became

adversaries

adversaries of the congregation of the Brethren. It would be too prolix to alledge here more circumstances and anecdotes concerning this affair. It may suffice to mention, that many of these masters of arts and students, who were united with the congregation, came, after various vicissitudes, partly to the Brethren, and have done them considerable services; and partly, by their public ministry in their own religion, have produced much and thousandfold fruit, with the blessing and in the fellowship of the Brethren's congregation. In the years 1737, 1738, and 1739, an Institution still flourished in Jena, out of which the *Seminary of the Brethren, adhering to the confession of Augsburg*, acquired some important members for the service of the Brethren's church among Christians and Heathens: and, besides these, by the mediation of the Brethren, many catechists and private tutors were obtained, by means of this Institution, for divers places in Lutheran countries; some of whom have proved a good favour; not to mention the blessing produced by it among the citizens of Jena.

## § 25.

FROM Jena the count repaired to Halle. The congregation had, even before, sent three Brethren with an account of their emigration and present situation to the divines there, so much beloved by the count; particularly to Dr. Anton. By means of what they related, and by the accounts received from Jena, concerning the count's and the Brethren's blessed residence there, some students here had been also induced to establish a more intimate fellowship among themselves, and with the congregation of the Brethren. They, therefore, entreated the count to come from Jena also to Halle. Here he lodged in the house of Dr. Lange, and was entreated by the doctor's son, in the name of more than one hundred students, to abide some time with them;

## 132 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part II.

to read them *ascetic lectures*, and, for their better proficiency in Christianity, to make some regulations among them, as had been done in Jena. The former he complied with, at the instance of some of the professors in the university, and inspectors of the orphan-house. But the latter he was obliged to decline; probably, because it sprang merely from their own impulse, and was not at the instance of their professors, without whose knowledge and approbation he did not chuse to interfere in any thing. On the other hand, he exhorted them to follow the late professor *Franké's* good advice and method, under the guidance and direction of experienced men.

### § 26.

WHILE the count was still at *Jena*, he received intelligence, that some well-meaning friends endeavoured to persuade the Brethren at *Herrnhut*, in order both to prevent a supposed persecution, and to gain more souls in those parts, to drop their particular regulation, together with the denomination of. *The Brethren*, and to content themselves purely with the Lutheran constitution. As the foundation of this proposed alteration was fear of man and hypocrisy; the consequence would have infallibly proved a discord exactly similar to that which arose in the same way two years before, and the issue of it, a total schism among themselves, and the separation of a great part of them from the Lutheran church. But not only some few in *Herrnhut*, and those Moravian Brethren who were then with the count in *Jena*, protested, for themselves, and in the name of the absent elders, against this innovation, and the relinquishing their particular congregation-privileges; but the count also showed them the dangerous consequences of this compliance from fear of man, and advised them, not to make any alteration till the matter should be thoroughly examined to the bottom. Even the Brethren of *Jena* exhorted the Moravian Brethren,

thren, not to be ashamed of their forefathers, but, following their example, to remain in brotherly union, and firmly to maintain a discipline, which they had received by inheritance, and for which so many worthy persons in the Protestant church had sighed in vain. This was done in the so-called *Letter of Union*, which was signed by one hundred and two masters of arts and students, many of whom have afterwards filled the most weighty functions in the Protestant church.

§ 27.

THE *Statutes*, or articles of agreement, of 1727, which some regarded as a new confession of faith, and consequently as a distinguishing mark of a particular sect, had given occasion to this confusion, which, at the count's return, was entirely removed. But, in order to cut off all occasion of offence, these statutes were now called, *Injunctions and Prohibitions of the Magistrate* \*; which, though occasionally laid before the inhabitants, were not subscribed as heretofore. The thing itself tending to brotherly union, good discipline and order, which had no other aim than mutual edification and establishment in that which is good, could not be set aside. But, lest this might be looked upon as a new religion, and the Brethren be, some time, on that account, compelled to give up their connection with the Protestant church, and to seek liberty of conscience elsewhere; it was found necessary to come to a right understanding on this head, and to make a public declaration. The German and the Bohemian ministers of *Groß Hennersdorf*, the parish-minister, and the court of justice of *Bertholdsdorf*, were in-

\* In this and other parts of Germany, a lord of a district or a manor is a magistrate, has many regalia, can publish injunctions and prohibitions, and has his own courts for civil and criminal cases, the inhabitants being his subjects and vassals. (The Editor.)

vited on this occasion; and, in presence of them, every thing necessary was discussed in the meeting-hall with all the male inhabitants of Herrnhut, and the declarations of the Brethren taken down in writing. These declarations were delivered into the hands of the Imperial notary, and solicitor to the lord-lieutenant, *Christian Gotthelf Marche*, president of the court of judicature in Bertholdsdorf; who, from these materials, drew up a notary's instrument or deed, which, on the 12th of August 1729, was signed by eighty-three men of forty-seven different families, and ratified on the 27th of September by the subscription of the count, as lord of the territory, and by the Rev. Mr. Rothe, the parish-minister. In this deed the Brethren first give a narrative of the beginning of Herrnhut, declaring withal that they are neither separatists, nor a new sect; and that they have not been compelled to make this public declaration by any necessity, or fear of persecution; but that, having, amidst ~~fact~~ a multiplicity of defamatory reports, waited hitherto for a legal court of commissioners from the sovereign, to examine into their intention and foundation, they now, prior to such an examination, would, of their own free will and motion, publicly make the declarations following:

(1.) That the congregation of Moravian Brethren, from whom they descended, have been acknowledged by the *Reformers*, (2.) agreeing with them in doctrine, and only differing in a constitution, which they (3.) had no occasion now to vindicate, as it had already been approved, commended, and applauded by *Luther* and other divines. (4.) That they were no violent *Hussites*, or disorderly *Fratricelli*; but descended from the Brethren's Unity at *Lutitz*; and yet, (5.) without appealing to the foundation of their ancestors, were themselves desirous of laying a true foundation in point of justification. "We acknowledge" (say they) (6.) "none for Brethren in any religion, who, having forfeited their baptismal grace, are not washed by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, and changed  
" through-

“ throughout, proceeding in the sanctification of the spirit.  
 “ We acknowledge no visible congregation of Christ, but  
 “ where the word of God is taught in simplicity and purity,  
 “ and the members, agreeably to it, lead an holy life as  
 “ children of God. (7.) Yet will we not be separated  
 “ from any one in any other Christian congregation, who  
 “ truly believes in Jesus Christ his Lord ;—though he  
 “ even should, misled by others, or out of ignorance, give  
 “ a different exposition of one or another text of scrip-  
 “ ture,” &c. They guard themselves (8.) against latitu-  
 dinarianism, or indifferentism in religion, believing that  
 the loss of life and property is not to be compared with de-  
 nyng the least truth. They will (9.) maintain their church-  
 discipline, and acknowledge themselves, (10.) at present, bound  
 not to forsake the divine service in the church at Bertholdsf-  
 dorf ; because they find there a gathering of children of  
 God, and the pure and unmixed doctrine, according to all  
 the fundamental articles ; while their liberty of conscience  
 remained unrestrained. (11.) They esteem the confession of  
 Augsburg as an excellent Christian performance. (12.) Not-  
 withstanding all their respect for the blessed martyr *Huss*,  
 they no more chuse to be denominated Hussites, than Lu-  
 therans ; but will retain their ancient name, *The Brethren* ;  
 hoping, (13.) that, amidst the enjoyment of their own pri-  
 vate regulations, they shall be indulged with the continu-  
 ance of the protection, both of the sovereign of the country,  
 and of their territorial lord ; and that, as much as they are  
 averse to complaining against their calumniators, so much  
 do they wish, with ardent desire, for a solid examination of  
 their whole case.

The instrument, upon which the particular regulation of  
 Herrnhut is grounded, (for we are not yet here speaking of  
 the *Moravian church-constitution*) may be seen at large in the  
 first Volume of the *Buedingen-Collection*, page 3.



## § 28.

ALTHOUGH every one might, from this declaration, most clearly discern the sincere mind of the Brethren towards the Protestant church, yet many well-meaning persons stumbled at their particular regulation. Though there were not now any apprehensions of a persecution on that account, as in the year 1728, and though they were under no necessity to attempt any alteration, from fear of man; yet the count himself, at this time, offered to the consideration of the elders and helpers, out of love to peace, whether, to remove all noise, offence, and any obstruction to an union with other children of God in the Lutheran church, and to render themselves more universally beneficial, and useful to others, they should not drop the constitution and church-discipline of the Brethren, and be entirely embodied in the Lutheran constitution, without any farther discrimination. Though he met with great opposition from the Brethren; yet he brought the matter so far, that it was agreed to be proposed, on the 7th of January 1731, to the congregation-council. But by far the most votes determined that a constitution of three hundred years standing, on account of which their forefathers had endured the most cruel persecutions, could not be so abruptly given up, and their posterity deprived of a jewel, which many Protestants had admired and wished to have in their churches; and that, without such a discipline and order, a speedy dispersion, and the waxing cold in the apostolic mind and zeal of their forefathers, might be apprehended\*. The count having endeavoured to answer their scruples, and to evince the utility of a total conformity with the Lutheran church; it was resolved (as we find it in an

\* A similar instance and determination we find in the History of the Ancient Brethren, § 23. as recorded by *Lafitius*, Lib. iii.

Account of that time) that, “ in order to obviate all future  
 “ imputations on that head, we should, in this case, abso-  
 “ lutely and simply resign ourselves to the entire will of our  
 “ Saviour, whether it should prove to be for our total coa-  
 “ lition with the established religion, without any farther re-  
 “ serve, or for the maintaining and using that constitution  
 “ which was particularly committed to our trust. There-  
 “ fore, the two following lots were written, and, with fer-  
 “ vent prayer, one of them was drawn by a child of four  
 “ years old :

1. *To them that are without law, be ye as without law,  
 (being not without law to God, but under the law to  
 Christ,) that ye may gain them that are without law.*  
 1 Cor. ix. 21.

2. *Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions  
 which ye have been taught.* 2 Theff. ii. 15.

“ The last was drawn. We entered, from that day, into  
 “ a covenant with each other, to remain upon this footing,  
 “ and in *this* constitution to carry on the work of the Lord,  
 “ and to preach his gospel in all the world and among all  
 “ nations, whithersoever he should be pleased to send and  
 “ scatter us abroad, and sang,

“ Guard thou us, in thy affair,  
 “ With the holy watchers’ care.”

§ 29.

THE count, at the same time, persevered in his steady  
 attachment to the Lutheran church. He did his best to  
 be of service to it, and to support the blessed instruments  
 of God in it. He had become acquainted with some faithful  
 clergymen in *Silesia*, and, among them, particularly with the  
 Rev. Mr. *John Adam Steinmetz*, minister of the Protestant  
 tolerated church of *Teschen*, which was attended by more  
 than

than thirty thousand Lutherans out of the circumjacent parts. With this clergyman he bound himself to propagate the kingdom of Jesus. These ministers having been accused by their own colleagues of pietism, the count faithfully interested himself in their favour. He wrote on their behalf in 1728 to the emperor's confessor, Father Toennemann, giving instructions to his agent at Vienna to proceed farther in that affair. But the deposing and expelling these sincere ministers having been resolved upon in the interim, he took pains to procure them employments in other places. By his good offices with the margrave of Bayreuth, he effected so much, that the Rev. Mr. Steinmetz was nominated superintendent at *Neustadt* upon the *Aisch*; from which place he was afterwards called to be the abbot of the Protestant *Abtey* *Bergen* near Magdeburg.

## § 30.

THESE efforts in behalf of the oppressed ministers and other aggrieved persons in *Silesia*, have, probably, contributed to the first controversial writing published against the congregation of the Brethren; which was afterwards followed by many others. In 1729, an *Account of a new Sect, which was making great Progress in Upper Lusatia and in Silesia*, made its appearance; written by the Jesuit *Charles Regent*, a missionary in *Silesia*. This man was chagrined that he could effect nothing with the *Schwenkfelders*, whom he wanted to bring over to his own religion, and that the count had interested himself in their favour. The count returned no kind of answer to this controversial piece; but could not hinder the Rev. Messieurs Schaefer, Schwedler, and Rothe, who were aspersed in the same, from rescuing their innocence, in a piece, under the title of, *Testimony to the Truth of the Congregation at Herrnhut, &c.* In the mean time, this caused some Lutheran divines, who had never seen any other account of Herrnhut, to write some pieces against the congregation. But they soon submitted to better information.

Besides

Besides this, various reports and descriptions of the count of Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren were circulated, chiefly through such as sought that which is good, but could not comprehend the proceedings of the count and the Brethren's congregation. Well-meaning persons expected a reply to them. But the count would not engage in a paper-war, alledging his reasons for this conduct in his *first public Declaration to his Adversaries*, in the year 1729, which may be seen in the *Buedingen-Collection*, Vol. I. p. 29, and which expresses, in a concise and cogent manner, the character he maintained towards his opponents to the very last. His words towards the conclusion are as follow: "The world  
" hates me; that is but natural. Some of my mother's  
" children are angry with me; this is grievous. The  
" former is not of sufficient importance to me, that I should  
" lose my time with it, and the others are too important to  
" me, to put them to shame by an answer. I content my-  
" self with giving a satisfactory account to such as have a  
" right to enquire about me, &c."

To say any thing more concerning the state of this controversy, both the brevity and the design of my present undertaking will not permit. I will only add, that the congregation, by occasion of the many contradictory reports, made a *Private Declaration to a certain Divine*, in the following year, 1730; which, though it cannot be looked upon as a confession of faith, may yet pass for a clear explanation of their mind in respect to, and in behalf of, the Augustan confession: as they, moreover, at the two hundred years' jubilee of this creed, very particularly showed the share they took in it by an ode set to music, in which they adopt and appropriate to themselves the very lively sentiments, full of faith, of *Luther* and some of the first confessors.

## § 31.

By means of such various reports, the congregation became more extensively known. Letters were continually received, requesting not only an account of the real state of the congregation, but also Brethren to be sent to different parts: insomuch that, in the year 1728, I find it remarked, that in one day above fifty letters were received from Halle, Jena, and other places; which were distributed among several Brethren to be answered by them. Many came themselves, in order to see every thing; among whom were persons of high rank. Some of these visits have been attended with very blessed consequences for whole countries. To other places where it was desired, even to the courts of several princes, Brethren have been dispatched with an account of the emigration and present constitution of the Moravian Brethren. The count himself had, on his going again to Jena, an opportunity of speaking with several of these great personages, and also with other princes, counts, and persons of quality, together with many learned men and eminent divines; of giving them a reason of the hope that was in him and in his Brethren, of laying before them the state of the congregation, and of recommending to them the truth as it is in Jesus.

When the Brethren heard of great emotions among the Protestants in *Salzburg*, *Melchior Nitschmann*, though contrary to the advice of the count and most of the Brethren, resolved to visit them. He set out for that place in 1728, in company with *George Schmidt*, by way of Bohemia, where they intended to visit the Bohemian Brethren about *Lititz*, mentioned in § 14. But they were betrayed in Bohemia, and put in prison. Though the count exerted himself to the utmost for their deliverance; yet the former ended his days, in 1729, in a severe imprisonment at *Schuldberg* in Bohemia;

hemia; and the latter was kept in prison six years, before he recovered his liberty. However, even these sufferings, and the death of a confessor of Jesus, were not without a blessing in those parts, as I have been informed from the mouths of many of those Bohemians who then were oppressed, but afterwards emigrated.

§ 32.

AMONG the many great divines in and out of Germany, to whom both written and verbal accounts were sent concerning the emigration and settlement of the Moravian Brethren, their regulation, and the renewal of the Unity of the Brethren, was in particular *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, chaplain in chief to his majesty the king of Prussia, a son of the last Moravian bishop's son-in-law, mentioned in § 45 of the *Ancient History of the Brethren*. This grandson of *Comenius* had been chosen bishop, or senior, of the Unity in Poland; and, with the consent of the elector Frederic III, consecrated on the 20th of March 1699, at the synod of Lissa in Great Poland.

The account of this little flock of Bohemian-Moravian Brethren, "which" (as he expresses himself in his answer, dated August the 13th 1709,) "has been so despicable in the eyes of the world, but was, in their time, the harbingers and the dawn of the Reformation," excited in him great joy and gratitude to God. He acknowledged them to be the true and worthy descendants of the Bohemian Brethren, commended their union, and wished they might be better known to the church of Christ\*.

With

\* In his *Apologetic Epistle to Mr. De Maucclere*, (*Bued. Collect. I. p. 351.*) where, amongst others, are these words:

"Ea (Ecclesiola) solis fere exulibus Bohemis et Moravis, eo tanquam ad asylum confluentibus, constat; qui sub cruce praxin Christianismi edocti, postquam huc delati sunt, et appellationibus schismaticis et rixis theologicis valere jussis, in  
"unum

## 142 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part II.

With this worthy and venerable old man, and, at that time, eldest bishop of the Brethren, the count continued to cultivate a correspondence, advising with him, as early as 1730, concerning his entering into holy orders: the consequences of which will be seen in the two succeeding Parts of this History.

### § 33.

ABOUT this time, not only Moravian Brethren and Lutherans, together with some of the Reformed, lived at Herrnhut in lovely harmony; but several Separatists, and even Schwenkfelders who, having been expelled Silesia, were received by some noblemen in Upper Lusatia, had repaired to *Herrnhut* and *Bertholdsdorf*, and were treated there with all due patience and indulgence, until they were either brought to rights again by conviction of the truth, or could betake themselves to other places. These, who partly were well-meaning and upright people, though bigotted to various opinions, and partly refractory and disorderly, may, very likely, by several offensive expressions, and by their irregular conduct, have occasioned many evil reports concerning the congregation. Nevertheless a retreat to the congregation was, upon mature

“ unum hic cœtum coalescunt, unoque ore et corde Deum laudantes, fidem profitentur, quæ per amorem operans est; ut hic genuinos Sendomiriensium posteros agnoscere queas. Quæ res ut Ecclesiæ Christianæ plenius innotescat, prorsus meretur.”

In English thus: This small church consists almost entirely of Bohemian and Moravian exiles, who from many parts retired hither (to Herrnhut) as to an asylum. They, taught under the cross the practice of Christianity, being at length arrived at this place, and having laid aside all schismatical names and theological disputes, are here growing together in one congregation, and, praising God with one mouth and heart, profess the faith which worketh by love: inasmuch, that we may easily discern in them the genuine descendants from those Brethren, who entered into the Agreement of Sendomir. (See *Anc. Hist.* § 33.) This event truly deserves to be fully known to the Christian Church.

consider-

consideration, granted to persons who, howsoever prepos-  
 sessed against the established religion, and fallen into error,  
 were yet sincere, and concerned for their own salvation.  
 This retreat was granted to them with a view, on the one  
 hand, to remove them out of the way of persecution, and to  
 save their own or their children's souls; and, on the other  
 hand, to deliver the established religion from people capable  
 of creating much external disturbance and internal hurt\*.  
 Here endeavours were used to set them to rights, to render  
 their abode at Herrnhut, without any constraint of consci-  
 ence, unprejudicial to the rest of the inhabitants; and, while  
 a condescension, in matters of indifference, was wisely shown  
 them, as well as inflexible firmness in the main point, the  
 sole foundation of doctrine; to reconcile them, by degrees,  
 to the evangelical doctrine and Protestant constitution†. It  
 must be acknowledged, to the glory of the grace of God,  
 that this method, so much recommended by all true Protest-  
 ant divines, brought many souls, out of their labyrinth of  
 error, into the right path, and made them useful members  
 of the congregation of the Brethren; who, instead of creat-  
 ing disturbances in the Protestant church, as they had done  
 before, afterwards rendered it many signal services. Thus the  
 Brethren looked upon all the pains they had taken with them,  
 as richly recompensed; and were abundantly comforted on  
 account of all the slanders and reproaches they were obliged  
 to bear for their sakes.

\* The well-known *John Christian Edelmann*, who in 1735 was  
 upon the point of sitting down quietly and contentedly at Herr-  
 nhut, but was hindered by several fanatical representations, and  
 who caused afterwards so much uneasiness to the whole church, is a  
 proof of this. (See his Letter in the *Bund. Collect.* III. p. 684.)

† The Declaration of the Congregation at Herrnhut towards the  
*Separatists* (in the *Freywillige Nubelst.* p. 229.) is so complete  
 and clear for the evangelical doctrine and constitution, and  
 against all separatism and indifferentism, that we ought to explain  
 from thence the following condescension to that class of men.



About the year 1730, the efforts and overtures of persons, partly of the late Dr. *Splinter's* mind, and partly of a separatist way of thinking, to unite with Herrnhut, were most an agitation. Many came to see the congregation; and some staid. Others solicited for Brethren to take them under their care, and to revive and recover the degenerated state of things by useful regulations. Many Brethren had even conceived a good opinion of those who went under the general opprobrious names of Pietists and Separatists, and used their endeavours to unite them with the congregation. But the count, whose mind was not to destroy any prior institution, or to blend it with that of Herrnhut, wished to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with them, in their principal places of residence; to keep them, if possible, at a distance from the Moravian Brethren, and yet, to promote as much real good among them, as they were capable of receiving.

## § 34.

FROM this motive, the count made a journey to *Berleburg* and *Schwarzenau*, in the county of *Wittgenstein*. The master of the household to the count of *Berleburg*, Mr. *De Kalkreuth*, had in 1729, on a journey through Herrnhut, received a blessed impression of the harmony among the Brethren, and given high commendations of it to his lord, the count, who had granted an asylum to many who were persecuted on account of their particular opinions. He gave the count of *Zinzendorf* an invitation to come to *Berleburg*, with the request to bring about an union, and establish good order among people who meant well, but were fallen into various contentions. Here resided also the famous *Christianus Democritus*, or *Dippel*. The count had, before, written a letter to him, advising him not to touch the mysteries of religion, but rather to continue his former attempts to refute  
philo-

philosophical errors. The count conceived hopes, by an interview, to reconcile to the established church this dangerous man, who had been formerly in a better way, but was drawn aside by the controversies then subsisting. He was the more strengthened in this hope, as Dippel's esteem for his person was not unknown to him: and he was received by him, as well as by the other heads of the parties, with great joy. During the eight days of his residence there, he heard all their various opinions with great condescension and patience; gave them solid answers to every point, without rendering them still more stiffnecked by refutations: and yet, stood firmly and simply upon the clear words of the holy scriptures, against all the objections of reason, and the sallies of fancy; and then comprised the whole in certain fundamental positions of the truth; which he clearly demonstrated, and confirmed by words taken from the holy scriptures, at the general assemblies for worship, attended by them all, even by *Dippel* himself, under a plentiful effusion of tears\*. The issue was, that the heads of the several parties united themselves, in the presence of some ministers of the county, upon certain points, which were on the 12th of September signed by them all, and which may be found in the *Buedingen-Collection*, Vol I. page 40. This was also the case, when the count spent four days at *Schwarzenau*. The plan of the proposed reformation in that place and district, is to be met with in the *Bued. Collect.* Vol. I. p. 361.

From hence it is evident that the proper intention was, after removing all dangerous opinions and exercises, to bring these people, so much at variance one with another, back to the simplicity and purity of gospel-truth, and to unite them together. This was done, not only with the knowledge,

\* There was such a general emotion in the minds of all present, that even many Jews asked leave to attend the meetings, and, at least for that time, bore witness to the truth.

but at the instance of their civil and ecclesiastical superiors, and with such a divine power and wisdom as exists in the simplicity of the gospel alone. But, as the count could not stay long enough to tend this work of grace properly, and Dippel broke with the Brethren *Martin Dober* and *David Kriegelstein*, who were afterwards sent thither, about the simple truths of the catechism; every thing fell back again into its former confusion, and the heads of these small sects became so much the more bitter against the count, the more they were ashamed of their not having been able to withhold their testimony to the simple truth of the all-sufficiency of the merits of Christ.

## § 35.

WHILE the count was yet at Schwarzenau, he was invited to *Wetteravia*, by deputies from the *Inspired*, or *French Prophets*, who had before been visited by two Brethren who found entrance among them. He set out on a journey thither, in order to make himself acquainted with the congregations of the so-called French Prophets. He spoke at their meetings at *Buedingen*, and in other places, in the simplicity of the gospel, but with a penetrating power, by which most of them, and especially *Frederic Rock*, the only and last of them, who had *Inspirations*, or so-called divine prophetic utterances, were struck and obliged to submit. In his interviews with the heads of their party, who aimed at an union with Herrnhut, he blamed them for esteeming their inspirations, which, in the circumstances attending them, were, in his opinion, very hideous, and far from being conformable to the meek spirit of the New Testament, equally, as a rule of faith and practice, with the holy scriptures; for separating themselves from other Christian congregations, and making nothing of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, which Christ had instituted, and without which no assembly can be acknowledged a congregation of Christ.

Christ. They took every thing into consideration, and intended to consult about it with the rest of the congregations of their own persuasion. Some of them, among whom was *Frederic Rock* himself, made soon after, in 1732, a visit to Herrnhut, where they met with a reception attended with more love and condescension, than is easy to be comprehended by such whose hearts are not filled with the same degree of patience and meekness. Upon the count's residing, since 1736, with his family in *Wetteravia*, they renewed their negotiations with the Brethren. But these were soon interrupted, since they persisted in their own notions, and thus nothing could be effected with them.

§ 36.

To the endeavours for gaining and bringing to rights the Separatists and other sincere, though erroneous, minds, belongs also the publication of Mr. Marche's hymn-book, entitled, *A Collection of spiritual and pleasant Hymns*, 1731. The count endeavoured to get out of the hands of these people, and of many Brethren themselves, who still imagined to find a depth of wisdom in obscure mystic hymns, those that were of this kind, by this very method of inserting many of the most tolerable mystic hymns among the usual church-hymns, after the former had been purged from various errors. Had he left out all the hymns of this cast, or even rejected them with severe censures; the friends of mysticism would, in that case, have been so much the more vehement advocates for them, and would not on any account have accepted the ancient church and other sound hymns. But, as they, however, found something which they sought for, they were satisfied with the rest; till, by frequent use, they got such a relish for them, that they became weaned from, and forgot, their former dangerous, favourite hymns: after which, this hymn-book, in which, notwithstanding

the revision, some dubious expressions still remained, could be let slide without any farther scruple.

There is no doubt but such endeavours, and especially the negotiations with the Separatists and the French Prophets above-mentioned, drew upon the count and the congregation many unfriendly censures from divines, and as much bitterness, hatred and defamation from the heads of these several parties. But they have been, at the same time, attended with this benefit to the Brethren themselves, that they, since then, became more firmly grounded upon the doctrine of the merits of Jesus; and yet many of that class of people were gained over to the same simple mind and foundation.

### § 37.

THE journey which the count made in the year 1731 to *Copenhagen*, to the coronation of *Christian VI*, does not, indeed, in the same degree as many other journies and transactions of his, here briefly taken notice of, belong to this History, but rather to the *Memoirs of his Life*. Nevertheless, inasmuch as it has been attended with consequences to the cause of the congregation, I must here mention it likewise.

He had been long known and esteemed at the court of Denmark; and he thought that, by engaging with that court, he might be freed from his troublesome office at Dresden, which took him too much from the labour in the congregation. He found great favour with all the royal family, and at court partly admirers and well-wishers, and partly invidious and secret enemies. All the places which were proposed to him, required his personal attendance: but he would accept of none that kept him at a distance from his beloved Herrnhut, and could be an hinderance to his executing the designs of God. Thus he was obliged to decline all the proposals made him, and could only accept of the *Order of Dannebrog*,

*Danebrog*, with which he was invested on the 5th of June, without any application for it on his part, and even contrary to his inclination and remonstrance. The king reposed such confidence in him, as to desire him to propose a worthy person for a court-chaplain and professor in the university. The choice fell upon the Rev. Mr. *Reufs*, a master of arts, and lecturing tutor at Tuebingen, who, together with the Rev. Mr. *Steinbofer*, M. A. was a year before become acquainted with Herrnhut. The proper advantage of this journey, which afterwards drew upon his person a great deal of envy and calumny, was not only his acquaintance with many worthy divines, and other awakened souls, in Denmark; but, principally, its proving the occasion to the first missions of the Brethren among the Heathen. I find, indeed, that the Brethren, even as early as 1728, upon a day of thanksgiving and prayer, when accounts were read of the kingdom of God, spoke of, and expressed their wishes to bring the gospel to, the *Negroes*, the *Laplanders*, and the *Greenlanders*; that to many this appeared impossible: but that the count expressed a lively hope, that this would once be the case. I find, moreover, that he, even in 1727, gave it in charge to the Brethren sent to Copenhagen, (§ 22.) to make an enquiry about the state of the *Greenlanders*. But hitherto an occasion had been wanting to a mission among the Heathen, which now offered itself at Copenhagen, by an acquaintance which the count and his domestics made with the Negro-valet de chambre of count *Laurwig*, master of the horse. This Negro related to them the miserable condition of the Negroes in the island of St. Thomas, and the longing of many, and especially of his sister, to be made acquainted with the way of salvation. This left a deep impression upon the count; and, having, at his return to Herrnhut, spoken of it to the congregation, two lively young Brethren, *Leonhard Dober* and *Tobias Leupold*, were powerfully excited and moved to go among these Heathens. The latter mentioned his desire in writing.

Whilst his letter was reading to the congregation, the Brethren *Mattheto Stach* and *Frederic Boehnisch* formed the resolution of expressing their desire to go to Greenland. The first-mentioned Brethren were confirmed in this mind, and some others moved to it, by the arrival of the above-mentioned Negro *Anton* at Herrnhut upon a visit, when he was permitted to deliver to the assembled congregation his account of the Negroes.

How this aim was accomplished, will be shown in the following Part. It may also be seen in the *History of Greenland*, Book v. § 1, 2.

### § 38.

AT his return from *Copenhagen*, the count found above seventy new exiles from Moravia. This caused no small stir. The count was accused of sending his emissaries to Moravia and Bohemia, in order to inveigle people from thence; and various things were printed against him in *Silesia*. He complained of it to the Imperial confessor, father *Toennemann*; and received for answer that a stop should be put to it, which was also done. He received, however, an admonition from the electoral court of Saxony, relative to the emigration out of Moravia, and his reply gave satisfaction for that time.

Indeed, the emigration out of Moravia would not have made so great a noise, had not that out of Bohemia followed immediately upon it; and this at the very time, when many thousands went out at once from the archbishopric of *Salzburg*, and retired to Prussia and America. A great deal of the commotions in Bohemia being also laid to the charge of the count; as indeed all disorderly motions of this kind were then laid at his door, though he was himself the sufferer; I cannot avoid relating something of it also out of the *Historia o (yrkwu Czeske* (*History of the Bohemian Church*), which was afterwards compiled at Berlin by some of these very Bohemian exiles.

*Henrietta*

*Henrietta Sophia de Gersdorf*, then lady of *Groß Hennerdorf*, an aunt of the count's, had, after the decease of his grandmother, received about seven Bohemian families, who had lived many years before in Upper Lusatia, and appointed the student *John Liberda* of Upper Silesia assistant-school-master of the orphan-house, which her deceased mother had founded. By means of his sermons and other meetings of edification, a great awakening ensued among the Bohemians, who came hither on a visit from Zittau, Dresden, and *Gebhardsdorf* on the confines of Silesia. They began to hold meetings in their own places too; and, being persecuted on that account, some of them made their retreat to *Hennerdorf*, and rendered the Bohemian colony there considerable. Some went to Bohemia, preached to their countrymen, and led many of them out, insomuch, that this colony encreased in four years to four hundred persons. The lady of the manor, who was not well affected towards the count and his institutions, intended to set up these Bohemian emigrants in opposition to the Moravian Brethren, and to settle a kind of Anti-Herrnhut. *Liberda*, who first stood in a confidential connection with the Brethren at Herrnhut, was also drawn into this opposition. They built a place for the Bohemians, called *Schoenbrunn*, at the foot of an hill behind *Hennerdorf*. But it was not long, before the lady fell out with the Bohemians for various political and oeconomic reasons. To this came the mandate from the electoral court, that the lords of manors in Upper Lusatia should no longer receive any exiles out of the emperor's dominions; and that they should forbid their subjects to draw people out of Bohemia. The Bohemians were now enjoined to take the oath of allegiance to their lady, and at the same time to promise that they would go no more into Bohemia to draw people from thence; not to meet in large numbers, and, least of all, to expound the scripture in private houses, &c. Against this, eighteen men protested in the name of the rest; who



## 152 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part II.

were obliged to quit the place. On the other hand, the colony presented a memorial to the lady of the manor, desiring, among other things, to have a church of their own, the liberty of chusing their own ministers, and the distributing the collections for the poor; to appoint officers of justice out of their own company, &c. The men who presented this memorial, were put into gaol. The consequences of these things will be related in the following Part.

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THE  
MODERN HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRETHREN.

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PART III.

*From the first Commission at Herrnhut in 1732, to  
the second Commission in 1736.*

§ 39.

**E**VEN before the disturbances on account of the Bohemians broke fully out, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Saxony had lodged a complaint against inveigling the emperor's subjects out of their own, and receiving them in another country. The suspicion fell upon the count and the congregation at Herrnhut ; and the very persons, who gave occasion to these disorders, charged them upon him and the congregation, with much plausibility.

As many other strange reports of Herrnhut were circulated, the court appointed an examination touching these accusations ; which proved so much the more acceptable to the Moravian Brethren, as they had been hitherto in a state of suspense, whether they might, or might not, upon such groundless charges, be deprived of the protection of government without

without an hearing, and delivered up again to their former lords. The president of the principality of *Goerlitz*, baron *Gersdorf* of *Reichenbach*, to whom this examination was committed, came to Herrnhut, attended with the official secretary, January 19th 1732. He, first of all, explained to the Brethren the design of the commission; which was, to examine whether subjects had been inveigled out of Moravia and Bohemia, (for, as to the reception of voluntary emigrants, there was no complaint) and then to be informed of their doctrine and constitution. The day following, being Sunday, the commissioner attended all the meetings, in which no alteration at all was made on account of their presence; but the Brethren rather spoke and acted with more freedom, in order that the supreme magistrate might obtain a true and entire conception of their doctrine and constitution.

I will here briefly mention the order of the meetings from the account given of this commission. On Sunday morning, from five to six o'clock, was the usual daily meeting for prayer at Herrnhut. Then they went to Bertholdsdorf to church, where the Rev. Mr. *Rothe* preached; who also in the afternoon delivered a discourse at Herrnhut to great numbers of strangers\* from the cities and villages round about: upon which Mr. *Steinbofer* repeated the sermon to those inhabitants of Herrnhut, who could not go to church; which the count otherwise commonly did. The count then delivered short exhortations, or homilies, to the respective choir-divisions, from the children to the widows. The children were catechised upon the subject of a verse; and one of them concluded with a prayer. A portion of scripture was read and expounded to the adults. The commis-

\* These were partly come to see what would be the end of Herrnhut. For it had, even then, many invidious and malevolent enemies, who, upon every occasion, hoped for its destruction.

sioner was present at all these meetings. After this, the parish-minister was interrogated by the commissioner concerning this congregation, of which he could give no other than a good testimony. The count closed the day with a discourse on Psalm xix.

January 21st, after the usual morning-meeting, the commission was opened, and the whole congregation were called to it in the hall. The commissioner, after an address to the congregation, ordered the Moravian emigrants, from above twenty places, forty of whom had suffered imprisonment, to step forward; when he interrogated each of them in reference to the circumstances of their awakening, oppressions, and imprisonment; also to the true design and occasion of their emigration, ordering every thing to be faithfully minuted. Afterwards, the grounds of the particular regulations of the congregation and its institutions were examined into. The day following, the commissioner took a view of the orphan-house, and the institution for boys brought up to learning; when the children were examined and catechised; of the apothecary's shop, and the habitation of the single Brethren. Mean while, some private questions were put by the secretary to the helper, *Martin Dober*, and both the questions and answers minuted. After which the commissioner set out on their departure well satisfied; a memorial having been presented to them in the name of the congregation, in which a plain and full narrative was given of their descent and revolutions since the year 1457, together with the true reasons and the circumstances of their emigration, and of their disposition towards their present government, and the Protestant church. The count accompanied the acts of the commission with a letter to the king, and with an ample *Deauktion* addressed to the Privy-Council at *Dresden*, in which he explained himself clearly concerning the regulations of the congregation. What effect this examination had upon the commissioner,

and how his report turned out, may be seen by his friendly letter, written afterwards to the count \*.

#### § 40.

Now the congregation at Herrnhut was in hopes of attaining to, and continuing at, rest. But they were soon after involved in the disturbances on account of the Bohemians, mentioned in § 38. The men who had been sent away from Groß Hennerdorf, together with a great number of other discontented Bohemians, came to Herrnhut, and solicited for permission to dwell there. All the houses were filled with them, and many encamped in the streets. All possible care was taken of their souls and bodies, and so much the more, as they were extremely poor, and had among them many that were dangerously sick. Yet the count would not grant them a settlement on his domain, without a discharge from their former lady; on which account he wrote to his aunt, that she would be pleased to signify to him such of them as she could and would part with. In her answer, wherein she previously acquitted him of the suspicion he had hitherto lain under, as if he had supported these people in their refractoriness, she related the grounds of these disturbances, much in the same way as has been mentioned above, reserving to herself a claim to them all. The count, of consequence, was under a necessity of ordering all these people to leave the place, though there may have been many well-disposed minds among them, who, by a prudent indulgence, might have been brought into order. He offered to write to their former lady, and intercede for them. But they sent de-

\* This letter is published in the *Buedingen-Collection*. Vol. III. p. 299, and expresses the president's great satisfaction at the execution of his commission; his high esteem for the count, and for the elders and congregation at Herrnhut. (The Editor.)

puties to the territory of *Bayreuth*; to seek a settlement for themselves, either there, or in the Empire. But, having met with none, the Rev. Mr. *Steinmetz*, then superintendent, and the Rev. Mr. *Sarganek*, the head-master of the school, at *Neustadt on the Aisch*, advised them to repair to the *Brandenburg* dominions; as it is related in the *Historia o Cyrkwj Czeske*.

However, some of the Bohemians, who had not done homage at *Hennersdorf*, staid at *Herrnhut*. These were obliged to make a declaration, whether it was their intention to stay and form a settlement of their own, separate from *Herrnhut* (for they were not to be blended with the inhabitants of the place), or to withdraw. The majority of them chose the latter, and, having settled every thing, relating to their effects, according to law, repaired to *Hennersdorf*, in hopes of meeting with a better fortune; together with the other Bohemians. These dispatched their assistant in the school, *Liberda*, and eight men, as deputies, to *Berlin*, supplicating the king in a memorial, to be pleased to receive the Bohemian emigrants, who neither would nor could stay any longer in Saxony; and, at the same time, to procure for their Brethren, still residing in Bohemia, the free exercise of their religion; or, if this could not be obtained, a settlement in his dominions. According to their own account, the king promised to do his best for them; and, in case nothing could be effected by representations to the Imperial court, to receive such of them as should, in illness and good order, withdraw themselves from Saxony and Bohemia, to settle in his territories. But the Bohemians in *Groß Hennersdorf* did not await the issue of his majesty's endeavours in their behalf; but some of them went to Bohemia, and persuaded their countrymen, that the king would procure liberty of conscience for them; and that, in case he met with opposition, he would send an army to Bohemia to second their undertakings, and an emigration as glorious, at least, as that of the *Salzburgers*: that  
now,

now, therefore, it was at their own option, whether to avail themselves of these favourable conjunctures, or not. The people, deceived by such groundless reports and false hopes, assembled themselves by hundreds to a free and open exercise of divine worship; but were dispersed by some regiments of soldiers, and a great part of them cast into prisons; where such, as refused to take an oath of abjuration, spent ten years in great misery.

§ 41.

AT the same time (in October 1732) the Bohemians of *Gros Hennerdorf*, together with several families from other places, amounting in all to five hundred persons, and upwards, misunderstanding the promise of a reception in the Brandenburg dominions, set out, by the way of *Goerlitz* and *Cottbus*, for *Berlin*. At *Goerlitz* they were well received and entertained; but were obliged to make a halt of eight days, till it could be notified to the court, and instructions received from thence concerning them. The purport of these was, that they should be conducted in small parties, from twenty to thirty in a company, to the confines, and be furnished with passports, showing that they were no vagabonds, but emigrants, who adhered to the confession of *Augsburg*; but yet did not leave Saxony on account of religion, but to obtain a better subsistence; however, they should be forbidden to return again into Saxony. They also met with a kind reception at *Cottbus* \*. But the governor having apprized the court of this affair, they were conducted in three companies, by soldiers, out of the city to the confines, and enjoined not to set foot again in his majesty's dominions. Thus they, during the autumn and winter seasons, roved about on the confines, where, though

\* *Cottbus* is situate in a Prussian territory.

they

they met here and there with sympathizing hearts, yet none dared to harbour them any where. Many returned, singly and unnoticed, again to Saxony; but the greatest part found, by degrees, and unobserved, their way to *Berlin*; where they, indeed, were not driven away; but yet, on account of an expected enquiry, not taken notice of. Here they lived some years in deplorable poverty and contempt, until it was found that their retreat occasioned no disturbance. Their various endeavours to earn their bread, and the good order they maintained among themselves, inclined the hearts of many persons of rank, and at length that of the king, towards them. Work was procured for them; charitable contributions were made for their poor; a Lutheran minister and a school-master appointed, and a fine church was built for them in the Frederic's Stadt, which was consecrated on the 12th of May 1737, and called, *The Bethlehem-church*. After an examination in January 1737, at the instance of the Imperial court, into the reasons and manner of their coming to Berlin, a lot of ground for building was assigned them in William-street, and a sufficient sum either freely given or lent them for the purpose.

But, with regard to the before-mentioned *Liberda*, he, immediately after his return from the deputation to Berlin, was gone to *Upper Silesia*. But no sooner was he returned to Hennerdorf, but he was taken up by the lady of the manor, as the promoter of these disturbances in Bohemia and Saxony, and, by order of the court, lodged in the house of correction at *Waldheim*, where he was confined till 1737, when, in company with the turnkey, he escaped to Berlin.

§ 42.

I was willing, out of the *Historia o Cyrkwi Czeske*, and the *Life of the Bohemian Minister, Augustin Schulz*, briefly to mention these circumstances concerning the disturbances  
of



1728, eight houses had been erected, they sought for a preacher among the colony of Bohemians at Groß Hennerdorf, and found the student *Augustin Schulz*, of *Breslaw*, willing to go with them. According to the *Memoirs of his Life*, written by himself, he, after completing his studies at *Jena* in 1728, had been appointed a catechist at *Bitschen* in *Silesia*, where he learned the Polish language, and became afterwards one of the masters of the Polish school at *Teschen*. But, having been forced out of his place by the envy of the minister of the Polish congregation, and, after being again employed two years at *Bitschen*, complained of by a Lutheran clergyman, he was, at last, expelled by government. At *Goerlitz*, where he, in 1727, was, for a while, employed in the Rev. Mr. Schaefer's charity school, he became acquainted with the Brethren at *Herrnhut*. As his intention was to have gone from hence to *Halle*, and as he wanted first to take leave of his friends in *Silesia*, he was, upon a false information lodged against him for keeping conventicles, committed to prison at *Brieg*. He was, however, after some months, honourably discharged in 1728; though, on the other hand, the Rev. Mr. Sommer, at *Dirsdorf*, and the clergymen *Steinmetz*, *Muthmann*, and *Sassadius*, at *Teschen*, were forced to quit the country. *Schulz* came to *Groß Hennerdorf*; and here it was that the Bohemians at *Gerlachshcim* solicited him to go along with them as their preacher. He complied with their request, in consequence of a conviction that it was the will of God, and lived with them in exceeding great poverty; for he had no salary, nor could the poor Bohemians do a great deal for him. In those parts, and even by his own lord, being under the suspicion of pietism, he was hated, narrowly watched, and under great restraint. Amongst his hearers he found, it is true, sound knowledge and a decent behaviour, but no life in their hearts. He made collections towards a church for them, and built it; and moreover a parsonage, school and poor-house. When afterwards a considerable

1728, eight houses had been erected, they sought for a preacher among the colony of Bohemians at Groß Hennerdorf, and found the student *Augustin Schulz*, of *Breslau*, willing to go with them. According to the *Memoirs of his Life*, written by himself, he, after completing his studies at Jena in 1728, had been appointed a catechist at *Bitschen* in Silesia, where he learned the Polish language, and became afterwards one of the masters of the Polish school at *Teschen*. But, having been forced out of his place by the envy of the minister of the Polish congregation, and, after being again employed two years at *Bitschen*, complained of by a Lutheran clergyman, he was, at last, expelled by government. At *Goerlitz*, where he, in 1727, was, for a while, employed in the Rev. Mr. Schaefer's charity-school, he became acquainted with the Brethren at Herrnhut. As his intention was to have gone from hence to Halle, and as he wanted first to take leave of his friends in Silesia, he was, upon a false information lodged against him for keeping conventicles, committed to prison at *Brieg*. He was, however, after some months, honourably discharged in 1728; though, on the other hand, the Rev. Mr. *Sommer*, at *Diersdorf*, and the clergymen *Steinmetz*, *Muthmann*, and *Sassadius*, at *Teschen*, were forced to quit the country. *Schulz* came to *Groß Hennerdorf*; and here it was that the Bohemians at *Gerlachheim* solicited him to go along with them as their preacher. He complied with their request, in consequence of a conviction that it was the will of God, and lived with them in exceeding great poverty; for he had no salary, nor could the poor Bohemians do a great deal for him. In those parts, and even by his own lord, being under the suspicion of pieties, he was hated, narrowly watched, and under great restraint. Amongst his hearers he found it is true, sound knowledge and a decent behaviour, but no life in their hearts. He made collections towards a church for them, and built it; and moreover in parsonage, school, and poor-house. When afterwards a considerable

number of extremely poor exiles joined them, who were in no capacity of procuring themselves a sufficient maintenance, he was, for several years together, by the contributions of some benevolent merchants of Franconia and Suabia, enabled to assist most of them, as also the poor remnant of the Bohemians at Groß Hennerdorf, and even to support part of them entirely. In his spiritual labour among them, he was indefatigable. He daily kept school for the children; and held some days in the week meetings of edification for the adults, besides the public sermons on Sundays, which usually lasted three hours in the morning, and nearly as many in the afternoon. He visited and spoke with every one separately, making their concerns, both of body and soul, his own. He left it to the German parish-minister to administer the holy sacraments of baptism and the supper of the Lord: for he did not chuse to be ordained, because he would preserve himself and his Bohemians in their liberty. His hearers entertained love and confidence towards him, and were so far from being tired with his long sermons, that they went with regret out of the church. Moreover, many Bohemians from the adjacent village *Gebhardsdorf*, and from other places, attended his preachings; and an awakening took place among them, which had blessed consequences.

#### § 44.

THERE arose, about the year 1720, in the territory of *Landfcron* and *Leutmischel*, not far from *Lititz*, the first residence of the Unity in Bohemia, an awakening, which was kept alive by Brethren from Herrnhut: (§ 14.) but it was restrained by severe oppressions. About the year 1728, by occasion of the imprisonment of two Brethren from Herrnhut, a new life took place among these descendants of the Bohemian Brethren; (§ 31.) and not long after, some of the awakened from *Gerlachheim* came to them, who explained

plained still more fully unto them the counsel of God concerning their salvation. Their meetings and private interviews were soon discovered; and the persecution urged them to seek their liberty. In the year 1732, *Jan Gilek*, of *Hermanitz*, made, with fourteen others, a beginning to emigrate. He was followed, in 1733 and 1734, by some other families, viz. *Niemetz*, *Garetschek*, *Janaushek*, *Mikulezky*, *Palosta*, &c. most of whom had undergone severe bonds and sufferings for the name of Jesus. Some of them are, at the time of my writing this, elders and wardens of the congregation of Bohemian Brethren at *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf*. They were, for the most part, under a necessity of making their retreat in a very severe winter, in the long nights, over pathless, and, on that account, unguarded passages of the so-called *Giant-Mountains*; but experienced so many wonderful helps and deliverances, as, together with the manifold sufferings of those who were taken, cannot be read without tears, in the *Memoirs of their Lives*. By their arrival, the Bohemian colony at *Gerlachshiem* increased, within a few years, to several hundreds, especially after the colony at *Hennersdorf* was broken up in 1732, and the lady of that manor dared not to harbour any more Bohemians, or, however, not for a long time. For, although the king's prohibition extended to all the states of the country; yet the lord of the manor of *Gerlachshiem* knew how to manage it so, as not to be called to an account for it.

These people, being descended from the ancient Brethren, had been already visited by Moravian Brethren from *Herrnhut*, and emigrated with an intention of renewing their fellowship with them. It was, therefore, very agreeable to them, that their preacher himself had fellowship with the Brethren at *Herrnhut*, and made use of their counsel in the leading of souls, and the regulation of good orders. He not only preached, and catechised diligently at church, and held meetings of edification in his own house; but moreover, according to the example of *Herrnhut*, addressed

## 164 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

special exhortations to the children, the single people of both sexes, the married, and the widows. He farther subdivided each of these classes into particular bands, who conversed with each other concerning the state of their souls: and their leaders gave him every Saturday an account of the situation of the souls; which furnished him with an excellent opportunity of making his sermons from the pulpit, and his discourses to the respective divisions, practical.

“ What rendered my function (so he writes himself) still more agreeable and blessed, was, that they did not satisfy themselves merely with my preaching, but also faithfully and mutually exhorted one another, spending the whole day, in all their rooms, with reading, praying, singing, and pious conversation, without neglecting their work. Whoever was the best reader, fixed a small desk to his spinning-wheel, or loom, large enough to hold his Bible, and read it to the rest; there being in one room two or three companies from eight to twelve, yea, sixteen persons. They then conversed upon what had been read, with singing and prayer. &c.”

In each room, two were appointed as overseers, to prevent all disorders, and to bring him an account of every one's behaviour. And as the single women had signified to him their desire of dwelling separate from the other sex, he hired an house for them, where they might live and work by themselves. In the same manner, he provided the widows with a separate dwelling, and with the necessary supply of work and provisions. They strictly observed good outward order and discipline in general; and such as were offensive in their walk, were excluded their fellowship, till they publicly asked pardon, and altered their course.

§ 45.

To this brief extract of his *Church-book*, and the *Memoirs of his Life*, I will yet subjoin what the members of the court of justice and the eldest men of the Bohemian colony at Rueksdorf (who are the very Bohemians of Gerlachshausen) gave me, in the year 1768, being at that time their minister, by way of reply to several queries I put to them with respect to their descent, and which the wardens and helpers of the congregation of the Bohemian Brethren at *Berlin*, have confirmed. The substance of their declaration is as follows :

“ We, and the greatest part of the members of the congregation at Berlin and Rueksdorf, are from the territories of Landskron and Leutmischel, where the Unity of the Brethren commenced three hundred years ago. *Lititz*, *Zamberg*, *Kunewuld*, and more such places, as well known in the Ancient History of the Brethren, as *Bertholdsdorf* and *Herrnhut* are now, lie only at a distance of between three and twelve miles from our former abode. At *Czerweny* and *Hermanitz*, from whence most of us came, and in many of the circumjacent villages, there have been houses of prayer, or meeting-houses, belonging to the Brethren, which, to this very day, retain the name of *Bratersky Zbory*, that is, *The Brethren's Meetings*. Our fathers, who were well apprized of the difference between the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, and the Reformed, between the Calixtines and the Brethren, have informed us, that they were descended from the suppressed *Unity of the Brethren*. They could also tell us many particulars of their regulations, and of what befel them ; and encouraged us to hope that this *Unity* would still be somewhere renewed again, to which we or our children would once be joined.—No sooner did we, about the year 1725, hear of *Herrnhut*, and that there was a settlement

“ there of Brethren from *Moravia*, and we were visited by  
 “ Brethren from *Herrnhut* ; but it was immediately an in-  
 “ disputable point with us, that these were the very people  
 “ we belonged to, and to whom we would go. It was the  
 “ visit of these Brethren from *Herrnhut*, which brought the  
 “ awakening amongst us at *Czerweny* to a confidence \* ;  
 “ nor did we emigrate out of *Bohemia*, merely for the sake  
 “ of liberty of conscience, but because we wanted to be in  
 “ fellowship with our Brethren out of *Moravia*. And this  
 “ was the unanimous declaration we made, which was re-  
 “ gistered, in our reply to the query, When, and by whose  
 “ means, we came to the *Moravian Brethren*. ? before his  
 “ majesty’s commission, held at *Berlin*, even as early as in  
 “ the year 1747.

“ When we, about the year 1730, came to understand,  
 “ by the *Bohemians* from *Gerlachshiem*, that they had a  
 “ preacher, who was in connexion with the Brethren of  
 “ *Herrnhut* ; we, from time to time, withdrew from *Bohe-*  
 “ *mia*, and repaired thither ; because we there found our own  
 “ countrymen, and a man, who preached in the *Bohemian*  
 “ language, a privilege we could not have at *Herrnhut*.——  
 “ He himself went frequently to *Herrnhut*, and brought us  
 “ many accounts concerning the blessed situation of things  
 “ there. He also took one or another of us with him on his  
 “ visits thither ; and scarcely a Sunday passed on which  
 “ some of us did not visit there. He conferred with the  
 “ Brethren, and with the late count, about his thoughts  
 “ concerning the regulations he intended to make amongst  
 “ us, soliciting the Brethren to visit us ; in consequence of  
 “ which, we were visited by several, especially the late

\* Some Brethren from *Czerweny*, and among the rest, old fa-  
 ther *Jan Eutmann*, who, during my ministry, departed this life  
 in the 96th year of his age, having lived to see as many children,  
 grand-children, and sons and daughters in law, as he was years  
 old, went on a visit to *Herrnhut* at that time, with a view to keep  
 up the acquaintance with the Brethren.

“ *Leonhard*

“ *Leonbard Deber*. It was by the counsel and aid of these Brethren, that, about the year 1735, he brought the well-known regulation amongst us fully to bear.—

“ Notwithstanding he proceeded very quietly and cautiously in this business, it however transpired. On this account, he was looked upon in the neighbourhood, and even by the parish-minister of Gerlachshelm, who administered baptism and the Lord’s supper to us, as an *Herrnhuter* : and in some places the ministers preached violently against him and us.—When we pressed him to be ordained, that he might appear with more credit, and be in a capacity of serving us with the holy sacraments in our own language; his usual answer was, ‘ I will readily serve you with the gospel \* ; but yet maintain my own liberty, and preserve your’s too. I do not think of staying always with you ; but of preaching once the gospel to the *Calmucs*. Ye are Bohemian Brethren, and belong to those of Moravia at Herrnhut. Should I be ordained, and make you a regular Lutheran parish; ye would be obliged, at my departure or death, to receive a minister, and to keep him all his life, even though ye were averse to have any, or should want another, in whom ye could repose greater confidence. But, if I depart from you as a mere student, or school-master; it will then be at your own option, whether ye will receive another, or not; or, whether ye chuse one out of your own body, or call one from among the Moravian Brethren, to be your teacher. And the time will come, when this will depend upon your own free determination.’ In this manner he has frequently expressed himself towards us; especially when we proposed building for him a suitable parsonage-house at *Rucksdorf*, instead of a wretched chamber in a garret, with which he, for a time, together with his wife and children, had con-

\* A Lutheran or Reformed student, who is a candidate for the ministry, is allowed to preach in the Lutheran or Reformed churches. (The Editor.)



## 168 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

“tented himself, under great difficulties. And, during a dangerous illness of his, we have heard from his own mouth, that he made the very same declaration to the minister of the ecclesiastical department.”

So much, for this time, of the relation of the Bohemian Brethren.

### § 46.

BUT it is time to return to the *Moravian Brethren* at *Herrnhut*, and particularly to the count, and to see what had determined him to sell his estates, even before his having received the above-mentioned order. (§ 42.) He wanted now, more than had hitherto been done, fully to execute the resolution he had formed even in his youth, of devoting himself to the ministry of the gospel; to which he had also been blessed by some great divines. For this end, with his mother's consent, he in 1732 resigned his place in the regency at Dresden at a full board, giving at the same time sufficient intimations, both in word and deed, of what they had to expect of him for the future. In this view he esteemed it also an impropriety, to act himself as a magistrate. On this account, he made a formal conveyance of his estates to his lady. He devoted himself from that time entirely and only to the service of the Lord in general, and in particular among the congregation of exiles which God had committed to his trust, and which, to use his own expression, he regarded as “A Parish destined for him from eternity.” Besides this, the congregation, which, ever since 1730, regretted his resigning the office of warden, gave him again a vocation, September the 26th 1732, for the same office. And when he, for various reasons, declined it, he was presented with a still more urgent vocation, dated January the 26th 1733; which he at length accepted. Upon this he set out on his first memorable journey to *Tuebingen*, where he was very intent upon giving to all the professors, and particularly to the chancellor *Pfaff*, a full account of the present state of the doctrine

doctrine and constitution of the congregation at Herrnhut, in order to enable them to answer more clearly and fully the question mentioned in the following section. He likewise found an opportunity of learning the sentiments of the most renowned divines concerning the Moravian Brethren, their connection with the Protestant church, and retaining their own particular church-discipline.

§ 47.

To their desire of keeping their own church-discipline, a very natural occasion presented itself at the close of the year 1732. The congregation at *Herrnhut*, being increased to six hundred persons, were too numerous to go to the church at *Bertholdsdorf*, together with the parishioners living in the place. Old and infirm people were altogether unable to go any longer to that church; nor could it be expected of the minister, that he, during the winter-season, by bad roads and weather, should come every Sunday to *Herrnhut*, to hold the Repetition, or the so-called Strangers-Meeting. In order to give no umbrage by absenting themselves from the preaching, the congregation, by their syndics, drew up and presented a memorial to the lord of the manor, in which they petitioned for a minister of their own; "who," (to use the words of the memorial) "as an assistant to the parish-minister, should preach a sermon for such as were unable to go to church; watch over the analogy of faith, and preserve the constitution of the Moravian Brethren in a wise connexion with the whole body of the church of the Augustan confession." To this office they proposed Mr. *Steinhofser*, a master of arts and lecturer in the university of *Tuebingen*, who, having passed through an examination in his own country, had been destined to the service of the church. After mature deliberation, and with the consent of the Rev. Mr. *Rothe*, rector of the parish, given in writing, the vocation was drawn up, and the affair notified to the president of the principality

ciality of Goerlitz, who gave his good advice with respect to this co-pastor, or assistant. However, Mr. Steinhöfer himself hesitated to accept the vocation, till he, on account of the salary he enjoyed, should be duly discharged by the *Epbori*, or guardians of the university appointed by the duke of Wuerttemberg, and informed by them, whether he, as a Lutheran divine, might, consistently, serve a congregation, which, though sound in the doctrine, and determined to remain in unity with the Lutheran church; had, at the same time, a regulation different from other Lutheran congregations, and a peculiar church-discipline, which he should be obliged to watch over as a precious jewel. He, therefore, submitted to the decision of the theological faculty of Tuebingen the question, “Whether the congregation of Moravian Brethren, on supposition of their agreement with the evangelical doctrine, might, and ought to, abide by the regulations and well-known church-discipline which they had maintained for these three hundred years; and yet preserve their connexion with the Lutheran church?” In order to elucidate the question still better, he annexed several documents, amongst which in particular *The final Declaration of the Moravian Brethren*, and *The Constitution of the Congregation*, as it was delivered in to the minister of the parish in 1733, contributed greatly, and beyond all the rest, both to the illustration of the situation of the congregation at that time, and the genuine mind of the Brethren concerning the evangelical doctrine and liturgy, and their own peculiar church-discipline.

The theological faculty, after mature deliberation, not only answered the question, propounded to them, roundly in the affirmative, in the celebrated *Opinion of Tuebingen*, dated April the 19th 1733; but, moreover, very amply and solidly evinced the truth of the supposition, *viz* the agreement both of the ancient, and especially of the present, Moravian Brethren, with the evangelical doctrine, and the utility and necessity of their peculiar church-discipline and regulations.

The

The famous Mr. *Buefenger* was the person who drew up this *Opinion*, and chancellor *Pfaff* added an epilogue, or conclusion, containing a congratulation, and an exhortation to imitate the fervent zeal of their fathers. The faculty, moreover, printed this *Opinion*, together with all the documents, in the same form, as it has since, either entirely or in part, been inserted in various other writings.

§ 48.

THE order, mentioned § 42, sent to the count, to sell his estates, had nothing less in view, than that he should quit the country. It was even reported that his enemies were endeavouring to have him imprisoned in the fortress of *Koenigsstein*; and he was secretly advised to withdraw from the danger. But this he would not comply with, lest it might be construed in him as shunning the cross. He, therefore, deferred his journey to *Tuebingen*, till his presence there should be necessary. Upon his way thither, he received at *Eberstdorf* from *Warsaw* the account of the king's death. Though he could now expect an alteration in his affairs, yet he went out of the country, complying with the proper intention of the royal command to sell his estates. On this account he used to call this journey, *His first Exile*. He resided for some time at *Eberstdorf*, from whence he took a journey to *Tuebingen*; where he, in company of *Martin Dober*, an helper from *Herrnhut*, and Mr. *Steinbofer*, M. A. chose to be himself present at the examination, which the theological faculty thought necessary, to show fully, and prove, the propriety of their *Opinion*. Yet, as to the occasion of it, viz. the vocation of Mr. *Steinbofer* to be an assistant to the parish-minister of *Bertholdsdorf*, he met with many difficulties. The greatest was, that he, by order of the court, should be substituted to the minister of *Bertholdsdorf*; but not joined in office with him; on which account he could not have  
lived

lived at Herrnhut, nor have ministered to the congregation, as it was requisite. He, therefore, returned his vocation, and accepted the call to be court-chaplain to count *Henry xxix Reufs at Ebersdorf*. The Moravian Brethren, however, gained so much by this event, that their doctrine and regulations were examined by a theological faculty, and found right, it being proved before the whole Lutheran church, that they might and ought to be permitted the peaceable and quiet use of their laudable orders and regulations, without being, on that account, excluded from the fellowship of the Lutheran church.

#### § 49.

IN the mean time, the new sovereign of the country, soon after his accession to the government, April the 4th, confirmed, on the representation of the count, the conveyance of his estates to his lady; and granted both to him, and the exiles from Moravia, a residence in his dominions, as long as they should, respectively, demean themselves quietly and peaceably. But in regard to the *Schwenkfelders*, who had been received at *Bertholdsdorf* since the year 1725, as also by other states of the country, he gave orders that they should depart, though not in a body, but in small companies. In consequence of this, it was signified to them, on the part of the lord of the manor, to seek an habitation somewhere else. They resolved to go to *America*, entreating the count to assist them herein. At this very time some of the *Salzburgers* being on their way to *Georgia* in *America*, they were advised to go thither also. The count endeavoured to procure them a free passage and a good reception from the *Trustees* of the colony of *Georgia*. When they entered upon their journey in the year 1734, two Brethren were sent after them; who, at the request of some of them, were to lend their assistance towards their temporal and spiritual welfare. But the *Schwenkfelders* were no sooner arrived in *Holland*, but they were persuaded to go to *Pennsylvania*. They, indeed, obtained

tained there full liberty of conscience, and most of them found a sufficient maintenance : yet remained Schwenkfelders as before. They were, however, in the following years visited by Brethren from Georgia. These Brethren gave an account of the confused state of religion in Pennsylvania, under which many sincere souls sighed, and wished for a reformation. This afforded the first occasion for the subsequent colonies of the Brethren in this province.

§ 50.

THE Brethren at Herrnhut, and especially the Moravian exiles, saw plainly that the condition upon which they were permitted to stay in the country, viz. "*as long as they should demean themselves quietly and peaceably,*" might, at any time, furnish the enemies of the count with an handle of troubling the court on their account, and so, of making their residence in Saxony very precarious. Besides this, the states of the country were forbidden, even in the year 1732, to receive any foreign subjects from *Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia*. Consequently, the Moravian exiles would have been obliged either to send away, without mercy, their Brethren who might afterwards follow them from Moravia, or give occasion to new uneasiness. This caused them to take into more serious consideration the proposals made among themselves soon after the commission in 1732, of settling colonies in countries where they should be gladly received, and be under no apprehension of creating either to the sovereign, or the local magistrates, who should protect them, any uneasiness on their account. In order that this might be conducted regularly and without show, and that no one might be induced to go away, whose removal would involve the lord of the manor where they had lived in any new troubles on their account ; the inhabitants of Herrnhut, soon after they had obtained the Opinion of the faculty of Tuebingen, divided themselves into two classes. One of them, consisting

chiefly of such, as were inhabitants of the country, and of other Lutherans, prepared to stay. The other class, principally comprehending the descendents of the Moravian Brethren, who maintained their ecclesiastical rights and privileges, laid themselves out for the establishment of colonies and missions. In this manner, they conceived they might both procure for their Brethren, who should yet follow them out of Moravia, a more quiet place of residence, and meet with an opportunity of being more useful, in other parts, and especially among the Heathens, with the grace they had received of the Lord, and with the jewel of church-discipline devolved upon them from their fathers.

## § 51.

BUT we must first see, how the count executed his design of entering into holy orders, mentioned § 46. He chose to enter upon it under the character of a candidate of divinity, who, as a private tutor, passes a regular examination of the clergy, and assists the ministers in preaching. A merchant at *Stralsund*, whose name was *Richter*, had solicited for a private tutor from *Herrnhut*. For, about this time, application was often made to *Herrnhut* for such tutors, catechets, inspectors of orphan-houses, and other faithful domestics; and many had been supplied with them from thence. The count being yet unknown in person at *Stralsund*, although the divines had already taken occasion, from father *Regent's* piece, to preach and write against him; he accepted this call himself, under the name of *Monf. De Freydek* \*; which he did, partly in order to experience the nature of the employment of such a domestic tutor; and partly, by submitting to such a trial under these rigidly orthodox divines, who had been appointed commissaries to the faculty at

\* This is one of the titles of the counts of *Zinzendorf*.

Grypswald, and were moreover prejudiced against him, to see, how far he harmonized with the Lutheran system, as it is delivered in the various schools of the Lutheran religion. He arrived there March the 29th 1734, and soon waited upon the superintendent *Langemak*. This gentleman offered him the pulpit on the 5th Sunday in Lent, April the 11th. On this occasion, the conversation turned upon count *Zinzendorf* and his supposed errors. After speaking some time of his character, his tenets and writings, he made himself known to him; yet on the condition of keeping his name secret, in order to avoid a needless stir. At the same time, he accepted the offer to preach and this was the first discourse he ever delivered from the pulpit. He farther requested of the superintendent a conference with him and Dr. *Sibeth*. From this conference, which began April the 18th, *Theses* were formed, which were signed both by the divines and by him. Besides this, he added some farther propositions, together with his private opinions. He writes himself, "I told them by word of mouth, in writing, and in five sermons, whatsoever I have, in all my life, believed and taught both in theory and practice; nay all the mistakes I ever had made." And in another place: "But, since several matters did not occur in this conference, which I thought proper for them to know, I examined all the rest of my past actions, expressions and sentiments. And, because several things then occurred, about which I could suppose these divines might possibly be scrupulous, I ingenuously communicated such things to them. But they retained their favourable opinion of me."

§ 52.

AT the conclusion of this conference, the count resigned his sword into the superintendent's hands, with the promise never to wear it any more; but, avoiding all secular employments,



ments, to be, for the future, only engaged in the work of the Lord. But before the testimonial of his orthodoxy, dated April the 26th, was issued, he, once more, declared his mind; his views, and his method, in a letter addressed to the divines; and set out on his return to Herrnhut on the 29th of April, with the blessing of the divines, and of many who had been edified by his sermons. From Herrnhut he notified this event, being his first public step into the ministry, to the queen of Denmark. He likewise communicated to Dr. *Loescher*, superintendent at Dresden, all the proceedings of this conference, for his information; giving him, upon some of his remarks, a farther explanation. But he did not think it either necessary or expedient to make it more public. For his aim had not been to *obtain a testimony from men*; but, to *bear a testimony before men* of his foundation, and of the inmost thoughts of his heart; that, by this occasion, he might see, whether, amidst all the dubious points spread abroad concerning him, and which he, of his own free-will, had himself still farther laid open, they could acknowledge him a worthy member of the Lutheran church, and a subject properly qualified for the ministry? But, since this conference has been laid before the public upon another occasion \*, I will only communicate the contents in brief, or the principal points, which, in various propositions, he treated of with the divines.

Theses post institutum Colloquium utrinque mutuo consensu approbatæ.

Congressus I. De Scriptura sacra. Theses VII.

II. De Religione et Symbolis. Th. X.

III. De Prædestinatione.\* Th. V.

IV. De Sacramentis, Baptismo et sacra Cœna.  
Th. VIII.

V. De Ecclesia et Ministerio ecclesiastico. Th. V.

\* See *Zedler's Universal Lexicon*, article *Zinnendorf*.

Congressus VI. De Justificatione et bonis Operibus. Th. VI.  
VII. De Extremis. Th. II.

Each meeting, or interview, upon a chief article was signed as follows : *Nicol. Ludov. Zinzendorf. Gregorius Lange-mak, Doct. et Superint. Carol. Jac. Sibeth, Doct.*

To all the articles the count had added *Uberiores Mentis Declarationes*, or explications ; and at the conclusion a piece was annexed in six sections :

Sect. I. Private Opinions, not brought into Debate ; of which there were nine :

1. Concerning the Want of Clousters in the Protestant Church.
2. Concerning Matrimony.
3. Concerning human Authority in the Church.
4. Concerning Conventicles, or private Meetings.
5. Concerning the Compulsion of Conscience (a) of the *Ministers*, who are forced to admit unconverted Persons to the Lord's Supper ; (b) of the *Hearers*, who are compelled to go to Church.
6. Concerning the Pedilavium.
7. Concerning the Method of treating Separatists.
8. Concerning Church-Discipline.
9. Concerning the secular Arm used against erroneous Consciences.

Sect. II. Concerning original Sin.

III. Concerning his Elocution, or Manner of preaching.

IV. Concerning his *Writings*. These were, at that time,

1. The small Catechism ; *Pure Milk*, &c.
2. The larger Catechism, *The Ground of the Christian Doctrine*, &c.
3. The Hymn Book of Bertholdsdorf.

## 178 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

4. *Socrates*, a weekly Paper.
5. An Edition of the *Bible*, at the desire and expences of his Grand-Mother, Lady Henrietta Catharina de Gerisdorf, Baroness of Friele; commonly called, *The Bible of Ebersdorf*.
6. An *Apology* of 1729, in a Writing, called, *Ingenuous Accounts*.
7. *Carmina, Curricula Vitæ, &c.*
8. *Writings and Opinions*, published at Tuebingen in 1734, with the Preface of a Divine.
9. The *Hymn-Book* of 1731.

### SECT. V. His public ACTS \*

1. The Peace established between the Divines of Wittenberg and Halle.
2. His Conversation and Correspondence with Cardinal Noailles.
3. Five-Years-Care of the Gichtelians and Separatists at Dresden.
4. Reception of the Moravian Brethren.
5. Toleration of the Schwenkfelders.
6. Union of the Moravian Brethren with the Lutheran Doctrine and Liturgy.
7. *Collegium pastorale practicum* in Jena, 1728, in six Classes, in reference to (a) Doctrine, (b) Morals, (c) Spiritual Experience, (d) Deaconry, (e) Exhortation, (f) Care of the Sick.
8. Leading the Sects in Germany into the right Path, especially those of Berleburg and Schwarzenau.
9. Defence of private Meetings, which he calls a fruitless Labour.

\* Some of these ACTS, which are either merely personal, or have occurred before the building of Herrnhut, have been related in the *Memoirs of the Count's Life*, published in German, at Barby, in eight volumes, in 1772, and the following years.

10. Missions to the West-Indies, to Greenland and Lapland.
11. Restoration of the Constitution of the Moravian Brethren, by means of the *Opinion* of Tuebingen.
12. Avowal of a Minister of Herrnhut.
13. Public and special Preaching of the Cross.
14. Reconciliation with Dr. *Loescher*, and the Divines of Stralsund. And lastly,

Sect. VI. He discovered to the divines his future views, *viz.* of becoming a Lutheran minister, after the example of prince George of Anhalt.

Whether ever any candidate for holy orders has undergone such a rigorous examination, and, *unasked*, has, or ever will, so candidly lay open all the sentiments of his heart, his private opinions, his whole life, together with all his words and actions, which, even at that time, appeared dubious, and have since met with censures of so very different a nature; as also what might be expected of him for the time to come; admits of as much doubt, as it is certain, that he, every where, wheresoever it was necessary to be known, especially in the years 1733 and 1734 at *Tuebingen*, conducted himself with the same integrity.

§ 53.

BUT I must, in speaking of this year 1734, not forget a certain incident, which, inconsiderable as it might appear to some, was, in the event, of greater advantage to the count and the whole church of the Brethren, than all examinations, approbations, and encomiums. The congregation at Herrnhut stood, indeed, upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, so that grace and truth, and an overpowering blessing, acknowledged and enjoyed by a multitude of sincere souls, both in the neighbourhood, and at a

distance, prevailed at the public sermons, as well as in private conversation, and in all the regulations, which were intended for the good of souls. But yet, it cannot be said, that they continued at all times to build simply upon this foundation. The discourses were instructive, but too diffusive, ethical, and, as to the leading of the souls, in a great measure, mystical, legal, and anxious. About the beginning of this year, a great alteration in this respect took place. The count, since his intercourse with *Dippel*, and other persons of a singular stamp, respecting their various methods of attaining salvation and holiness, was led to a closer examination of his own foundation, which may well be called a real *Tentatio theologica* (a theological trial.) This occasioned a profound meditation upon the doctrine of the atonement of Jesus. "This gave me (as he himself writes) a clear insight into the whole doctrine of salvation, of which I made the first happy experiment in my own heart, — and, at length, upon the hearts of my dear brethren and fellow-labourers, where it had its full effect. Since the year 1734, the propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus became our peculiar, public, and only matter, our universal remedy against all evil, both in doctrine and practice; and will remain so to all eternity."

I have heard of a very particular circumstance, evidently directed by Providence, which happened on this occasion. The count, having thrown some papers, which were of no farther use, into the fire, they were all consumed, excepting one small billet, on which was written the daily word for the 14th of February, *He chuses us to be his inheritance, the excellency of Jacob whom he loveth.* (Psal. xlviii. 4 according to Luther's version.) Under which the old Lutheran verse stood :

"O let us in thy nail-prints see  
Our pardon and redemption free."

All the Brethren and Sisters who saw this billet, the only one which remained unconsumed among the cinders, were filled

filled with a childlike joy ; and it gave them an occasion to an heart-felt conversation with each other upon the wounds of Jesus, which was attended with such a blessed effect, as to make an happy alteration in their way of thinking and type of doctrine. The count composed upon this verse, the incomparable hymn :

“ *Jesus, our glorious Head and Chief,*

“ *Sweet object of our heart’s belief !*

“ *O let us in thy nail-prints see*

“ *Our pardon and election free,” &c.*

This is the very first hymn in the second Part of the old *Hymn-book of Herrnhut*, and may be found in the new edition of *1*, printed at London 1752, in N°. 2032 \*.

This pure evangelical mind having taken full possession of the count’s heart, he, in this first fire, set out, in the spring 1734, for his examination at *Stralsund*, and in autumn the same year, for *Tuebingen*, with a view to enter into holy orders.

§ 54.

THE state of the case was this. The Moravian Brethren, though very well satisfied with the Lutheran ministry at Bertholdsdorf, could no longer remain together at *Herrnhut*; but began, as we shall soon see, to spread abroad in colonies and missions. They could not every where expect such equitable treatment in ecclesiastical matters, as they enjoyed in *Upper Lusatia*, that ministers should be allowed, or ordained for, them, who were according to their own mind, and who, agreeable to the tenor of the Opinion of *Tuebingen*, would leave them at liberty, together with the evangelical doctrine, to retain the church-discipline they had brought with them. From this motive, the count was intent upon providing a sufficient number of candidates for the ministry, that he

\* This hymn is also to be found, translated into English, in the *Collection of Hymns*, printed at London in 1754. See Part II. page 5. (The Editor.)

might be able not only to furnish the Brethren with ministers for their colonies and missions, but also to gratify his friends of the clergy and laity in divers countries, who had solicited him for catechets and domestic tutors. He had, besides, another point in view, which was not the effect of ambition, but was intended only to obviate a certain impropriety. He wished to enter into the clerical Order in such a way, as might not, according to the usual way of thinking, reflect any disgrace upon the royal order of *Danebrog*, conferred upon him by the king of Denmark. Both these views he thought to attain, by restoring, at his own expences, the decayed Protestant cloister of *St. George*, in the dukedom of *Wuerttemberg*; and, under the character of a prelate of the *Wuerttemberg* church, founding a theological seminary. For this end, he caused the question to be put to duke *Charles Alexander* of *Wuerttemberg*, by *Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg*, A. M. who, in 1733, was come from *Halle* to *Herrnhut*, and, on the 20th of October 1734, he received the following answer from the head-quarters at *Heidelberg*: “ That the duke had  
 “ all due regard for the count, and for his zeal for the pro-  
 “ pagation of the kingdom of God. But since both this,  
 “ and his intention of entering into holy orders, were of an  
 “ extraordinary nature; his nomination to be a *Wuert-*  
 “ *berg* prelate would attract the attention of the world,  
 “ and awaken a suspicion against him (the duke) among  
 “ the Roman Catholics \*.”

\* It is hardly ever known in Germany, that one of high nobility enters into holy orders. This made the count's proceedings appear extraordinary there. The duke, though sovereign of a Protestant country, was a Roman Catholic, which made him timorous to renew a Protestant prelacy which had ceased for some time. (The Editor.)

## § 55.

At the same time Mr. *Spangenberg*, at his own motion, and without any commission for it, put the question to the divines of *Tuebingen*, whether it were advisable and requisite for the count to assume a clerical character, that so he might preach the gospel in a more justifiable manner before the world? For this question had been agitated even at *Herrnhut*, where the count found it necessary to clear the matter up to his lady, and to the helpers of the congregation. Thus, the following questions were proposed to the before-mentioned divines, and particularly to chancellor *Pfaff*, "What is meant by an internal call of God to the ministry? What are the evidences of it?" And, "Whether" (having laid before them certain evidences which appeared in the count) "his call was such as to qualify him for entering into holy orders?" Upon these queries, chancellor *Pfaff* delivered a learned and ample Opinion, dated September the 19th 1734, a *Summary* of which may be read in the *Buedingen-Collection*, (vol. i. p. 46.) and a larger *Abstract* in Mr. *Lelong's Account*. &c.

But before the count could have been apprised of this transaction, he himself, on the 8th of November, gave notice of his intention to enter into holy orders, to the directory of the *Wuertenberg* church at *Stuttgart*; and received an answer, importing, that his laudable design met with their approbation, that they wished him grace, wisdom, and power from above, assuring him of all love and requisite assistance on their part to this end. Consequently he, without farther delay, hastened to *Tuebingen*, and, on December the 18th, 1734, wrote that charming *Declaration*, so well worth reading, concerning his motives for, and manner of, devoting himself to the service of God, which begins with these words, *Tener adhuc credidi*, &c. and concludes, *Miser sum* (I am poor and needy.) *He helpeth the poor gloriously*. The theological faculty got this declaration printed in a *Programma*, dated the



19th of December, and thus received him into the clerical order, for which he had been preparing himself for many years, and had passed his examination but a few months before\*. And that very day (it was the fourth Sunday in Advent, the 19th of December) he preached, in the Collegiate church, upon John i. 19—29. *Of the Witnesses of the Lamb*; and on the 21st of December, in the Hospital church, upon John xx. 24, & seq. *Of the View of the Election of Grace*: upon which occasion the hymn, *Jesu, our glorious Head and Chief*, &c. appeared in print.

## § 56.

WE must now go a few years back, to see the beginnings of the missions, and soon after of the colonies of the Brethren, for which, according to § 50, they had prepared themselves. The desire of preaching the gospel to the Heathens had been moving in them even in 1728, and the opportunity for it was given them in 1731. (§ 37.) In the year 1732, the beginning of the first mission was made. *Leonhard Doler* and *David Nitschmann* senior, set out, August the 21st, from *Herrnhut*, by way of *Copenhagen*, where they neither sought nor found human support, for *St Thomas* in the West-Indies, and arrived there on the 12th of December. A common planter, to whom they brought a letter from his sister in *Copenhagen*, took them into his house, and David Nitschmann earned their livelihood, working as a carpenter.

\* At *Tuebingen* he was not indeed examined with the same formality and solemnity, as at *Stralsund*, but the year before, by occasion of the *Opinion* of the theological faculty of *Tuebingen*, (§ 47) a still longer and stricter examination had taken place, with respect both to his person and doctrine, and to the congregation at *Herrnhut*, and its constitution. He also found it necessary, on account of the *Order of Dan'sborg*, previously to acquaint the court of Denmark with his design and his motives for it. And whereas he was no longer allowed to wear this order in the manner in which the dignified clergy in other countries wear the insignia of the orders, as he had begun to do in the pulpit; he requested, and in 1736 received, the permission to return it.

On

On the return of the latter, fourteen weeks after, (for he had only made the voyage as a companion to the former,) *Leonhard Dober* was taken into the house of governor *Gardelin*, who was a pious gentleman, as steward of his household. But since he did not, in this capacity, find time and opportunity sufficient to attend to the Negroes, he hired an house of his own; where, as his trade, as potter, could not be followed here, he lived in very great poverty. Immediately on his arrival, he sought for the Negro *Anthony's* sister, and their brother \*, whose desire had been the principal occasion of this voyage; and preached to them the salvation purchased by Jesus for all men, even the most despised Negro-slaves. The joy with which they received these glad tidings, gave him new courage. They were soon followed by more, who, having received the word in faith, were, some time after, baptized.

It was then a dangerous time in *St. Thomas*. The bloody flux carried off many Negroes, and *Leonhard* was obliged to be constantly among them. In the island of *St. Jan*, the Negroes rebelled in the year 1733, and, having seized upon the fort and the whole island, massacred all the Europeans who could not escape their rage. This rebellion lasted eight months; nor could it be totally suppressed till the governor of *Martinico* sent a large reinforcement of Mulattoes, who drove the rebels from place to place. And, as these had, at length, no farther place to withdraw or flee to, they killed one another, and the ringleader shot himself last of all.

In the year 1734, the first colony from *Herrnhut* for *St. Croix*, arrived at *St. Thomas*; of which more shall be

\* At their baptism they were called *Anna* and *John Abi abam*. They are now with the Lord. But their brother *Anthony*, who had proved the occasion of their salvation, was, on his way from *Herrnhut*, by false Brethren made to stumble touching the congregation; and after his return to *St. Thomas*, being fallen into deplorable circumstances, came to a miserable end.

### 186: MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN; Part III.

related soon. With these Brethren, *Leonhard* received his recal, having been chosen elder of the congregation at *Herrnhut*, in the place of the late *Martin Linner*. He set out on his return for *Herrnhut*, August the 12th, 1734, having taken a Negro-boy with him, whom he had purchased from a Guinea-ship. This youth was, in 1735, baptized in the congregation at *Ebersdorf* by the court-chaplain *Steinhofser*, and called *Joshua*. He departed this life in 1736. This was the first-fruits of the Negroes. One of his sponsors was *Frederic Martin*, who set out immediately after for *St. Thomas*, to succeed *Leonhard Dober* in the work begun there. In his company was *Dr. Grothaus*, a celebrated physician from *Copenhagen*; who, upon the information that many Brethren died in *St. Croix*, went thither, without the knowledge and consent of the congregation, to assist the sick Brethren; but immediately on his arrival, he himself departed this life. *Frederic Martin*, and his assistants, found soon such an entrance among the Negroes, that, in a few years, amidst all oppression and impediments, the blessing spread to hundreds. They could not administer baptism, as none of them had been ordained before they went: but *Frederic Martin* received the ordination afterwards in writing. However, the first-fruits in *St. Thomas* were baptized by the Rev. Mr. *Spangenberg*, at his visit there, on the 30th of September 1736, and called *Andrew*, *Peter*, and *Nathanael*\*.

#### § 57.

THE second mission was undertaken on the 19th of January 1733, to *Greenland*. The occasion of it has been related § 37. The Brethren *Christian David*, *Matthew Stach*, and *Christian Stach*, having met with many friends and patrons at *Copenhagen*, at court, among the king's ministers,

\* See *Oldendorp's Account of the Mission to St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan*, published at Barby, 1777.

the college of missions, and other divines, set sail for Greenland on the 10th of April, recommended by the king. Soon after their arrival, on the 20th of May, they built an house not far from the colony of *Godthaab*, on Ball's river, which they called *New Herrnhut*. They endeavoured to learn the language, and to enter into an useful intercourse with the Heathen, but met with many difficulties; among which that which seemed the most distressing was, that almost all the Greenlanders of that district had been carried off by the small pox. In the year 1734 they received two assistants, *John Beck* and *Frieder. Boehnisch*, and agreed with one another, that they would faithfully hold out, in hunger and distress, by hard and hazardous labour, amidst contempt on all sides, in danger of life among the incensed savages, by a supposed desertion of their brethren and friends at Copenhagen, by an apparent unfruitfulness, nay impossibility of access to the hearts of the Heathen; and in many other hardships and difficulties attending the mission in the first years. They had, indeed, the joy of baptizing, in the year 1739, the first-fruits, *Samuel Kajarnak*, and his family: but he was soon obliged to flee from the murderers. Yet he returned again in the year 1740, and drew many Greenlanders after him, to whom he, on his flight, had preached the gospel. A great awakening arose soon after among the Greenlanders; and, in a few years, the congregation of baptized, regulated so orderly, as could hardly have been thought possible among savages, increased to such a degree, that they were obliged to think of a second congregation from among the Heathen, which, in 1758, was begun at *Lichtenfels*, in the *Fishers Bay*; and which, together with that at *New Herrnhut*, is yet flourishing, and in blessing; as may be more fully seen in my *History of Greenland*, &c. published in 1765, and in the *Continuation* of it, printed in 1770\*.

\* The *Continuation* is not yet been translated, and printed in English. (The Editor.)

## § 58.

BUT before I proceed to show how the missions furnished an occasion for the colonies, I must yet briefly take notice of the well-intended, though frustrated, attempt to form a mission among the *Laplanders* and *Sami*. On Epiphany, January the 6th, 1734, while accounts of the kingdom of God were read at Herrnhut, and the messengers among Christians and Heathens commended to the Lord in prayer, many Brethren signified their readiness also to go among the Heathen; and *Andrew Grasmann*, *Daniel Schneider*, and *John Nitschmann*, offered themselves to make a trial in *Lapland*. They were dispatched with this instruction, that they should not go into such parts where there were missionaries already; but into those which had not been visited by any: that they might not be in the way of any one\*. In May, they arrived at *Stokholm*; and, having acquired the Swedish language, proved a blessing to many souls there. In 1735, they repaired to *Tornea* in Lapland, and, having learned the language of that country also, travelled through all Swedish Lapland. But as they found every where preparations made for the conversion of the Laplanders, they resolved to go to Russian Lapland. Thus, in 1736, the two first went back again to *Stokholm*, where they found *Michael Miksch*, he being come thither to relieve *John Nitschmann*, who returned to Herrnhut in 1735. *Andrew Grasmann* set out from hence for *Koenigsberg* to have an interview with the count on his return from Livonia. In 1737, in the beginning of the year, these three Brethren met in *Reval*, and travelled together to *Moscow* and *Arch-*

\* The instructions given to the Heathen missionaries in the East, were sent after these Brethren in 1736. If this be taken together with the instruction given in general to all the Heathen missionaries, it shows the sentiments of the Brethren in this affair, even then, before they could yet speak from experience of conversions among the Heathen.

angel. In *Moscow* they became acquainted with sensible and pious persons, who forwarded them on their journey to *Archangel*. Here they got acquainted with some *Samojedes*, who were willing to take them with them. But, on their applying for a passport, they were suspected to be Swedish spies; on the 13th of February 1738 taken up, and, after having been kept in separate places of confinement, and examined, five weeks after, brought to *Petersburg*. Their guard was in the beginning very severe towards them; but in time, and after observing their Christian meekness and submissiveness, treated them with more mildness. Having been once obliged to cross in a thaw a frozen lake, the ice broke under the sledge not far from the shore. Two of the Brethren and two of the soldiers fell into the water. The third brother helped the soldiers and the Brethren out again. They afterwards acknowledged and praised the integrity of the Brethren; who saved their lives, instead of leaving them to be drowned, and recovering their liberty by flight. In *Petersburg* they suffered a second confinement of five weeks, during which they were frequently examined. Their simplicity and uprightness helped them through. They met with great kindness from some gentlemen, and a certain great minister, being convinced of their innocence and good design, furnished them with a passport to *Lubeck*, with these words, "Ye may go your way, good people; your service is not wanted here. Possibly the time may soon come, when ye will be sent for; and then ye may come again." This also actually came to pass\*.

Even in the year 1735, David Nitschmann, junior, made a journey to *Petersburg*, with a view to find out the way to the *Calmucs*, and to the descendants of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who were supposed to dwell on mount

\* The Brethren *Andrew Grafmann* and *Daniel Schneider* have since been in *Greenland*. *Michael Miksch* went to *North America*, and *Jahn Nitschmann* is at this time in the neighbourhood of the *Calmucs* on the river *Wolga*.

## 190 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

*Caucasus.* (See *The Ancient History*, § 16.) Though the aim was not obtained, yet Nitschmann got sundry important accounts, and made a friendly acquaintance with a minister there, which was of great use to the above messengers to *Lapland*, during their imprisonment at *Peterburg*.

### § 59.

THE missions to *St. Thomas* and *Greenland* were the occasion to the *first colony*; as indeed most of the colonies were established for the sake of the missions. The Brethren who went to *Greenland*, found a patron at *Copenhagen* in the lord chamberlain *De Pless*; who not only promoted their voyage, but, upon hearing of the mission to *St. Thomas*, was disposed to countenance and assist this also. In the year 1733 the *West-India and Guinea-Company* at *Copenhagen*, having made a purchase of the large and fine island of *St. Croix*, which had been abandoned by the French for the space of forty years, and during that time had again become a wilderness, were desirous of occupying and cultivating it anew. The lord chamberlain believed, that the lands he had taken up there, would be best cultivated, and the Negroes at the same time converted, if he did commit them to the care of some of the *Moravian Brethren*, being convinced of their industry and faithfulness in bodily labour, and of their zeal for the salvation of souls. With this view he addressed himself to the count, requesting two Brethren as overseers for each of the six plantations he was going to plant. The *Moravian exiles* being, according to § 50, intent upon forming colonies, many were willing to go into a country, where, beside their outward labour, they would also have an opportunity of being serviceable to the Heathen. The count had his doubts about this affair, being apprehensive that the Brethren might be diverted from their chief object by the cares of this life, and sustain damage in their souls. But the majority of the votes of the congregation-

tion-council being for it, he acquiesced. Out of those who had offered themselves, four married couples and ten Brethren were selected, and *Tobias Leupold*, who in 1731 had offered himself for the mission to St. Thomas, was appointed their warden. They set out on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of August 1733 from Herrnhut for Copenhagen, and were accompanied by Spangenberg to that city. They were, however, obliged to winter in Norway, and did not arrive at St. Thomas till June the following year, 1734, after an extremely difficult voyage, during which many of them, very probably, contracted disorders. *Leonhard Dober*, who was better acquainted with the nature of the country, was affrighted at the unexpected arrival of so many inexperienced persons, who were to cultivate again plantations, which had been abandoned for forty years, and were now run to ruin, the country being again quite overgrown with tall trees and thick underwood, through which the easterly winds could not pass, and carry off the unwholesome vapours. But they had good courage, and soon went to St. Croix with twelve Negroes, sparing themselves so little in this sultry and unhealthy climate, that they all fell sick, and ten of them departed this life soon after their arrival. In the year 1735 endeavours were used to supply their places by a new colony of eleven persons; and *Dr. Grothaus*, as mentioned § 56, went thither also to assist them; yet this colony did not answer the purpose, since various by-views had crept in among them. Those who were not carried off, amidst their faithful labour among the Heathen, (which, however, then proved almost entirely fruitless,) of whom only nine remained out of the twenty-nine forementioned persons, partly returned, and partly repaired to the mission in St. Thomas, which had been undertaken, without any human support, purely for the conversion of the Heathen. But yet, that the bodies of these, who thus fell asleep in the Lord, became grains of wheat, which, since 1740, when merely a mission was begun there, have produced abundant fruit; is now as evident to the eye, as



it was to faith, when, on the first news of their death, the congregation sang,

- “ Ten in the earth were sown as seed,
- “ Lost to man’s expectation ;
- “ Yet on their graves our faith doth read,
- “ *Seed of the Negro-nation.*”

### § 60.

THE *second colony* was to have settled upon the coast of the Baltic, in *Ducal Holstein* ; and the view was to have sent thither those *Moravians* who continued to come to Herrnhut, but could not be received in Saxony, nor, in conscience, sent back to their own country. The ambassador from Holstein at Ratisbon had been consulted on this head, who gave good hopes. *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, then antistes of the Brethren’s Unity, furnished *David Nitschmann* the elder, who, with four other Brethren set out on the 25th of September 1734 for *Kiel*, with a testimonial and letter of recommendation. The Brethren were to settle there after the model of Herrnhut, that is, as Moravian Brethren, who, agreeably to the opinion of the theological faculty of Tuebingen, would remain in connexion with the Lutheran church, retaining at the same time the liberty to chuse their own ministers, and, upon the sovereign’s confirmation, to induct them, and to maintain the church-discipline and good order inherited from their fathers, as established at Herrnhut. They pitched upon a spot for their settlement near *Newminster*, and the duke showed an inclination to receive them, and to grant their request. However, the consistory raised difficulties, and refused to grant them the liberties they had required. They, indeed, declared by a memorial, that they held, and would abide by, the pure Protestant doctrine ; also that they would present their ministers for examination, conforming to the usages of the Lutheran church, and regulating their own congrega-  
tion-

tion-constitution with such discretion, as to occasion no reflections upon it. But the answer having been given in the negative, they, in the beginning of the year 1736, repaired to *Royal Holstein*, waiting for the good advice of their Brethren, whether they should embrace the proposals they had received, of settling here, or betake themselves to some other place? How it went farther with this colony, we shall find in the ensuing Part.

§ 61.

THE *third colony* went to *Georgia* in North America. The occasion to it was, that the count, at the solicitation of the *Schwenkfelders*, who were withdrawing from *Bertholdsdorf*, (§ 49.) had sought a settlement for them there, and on that account written to the *Trustees* of *Georgia*. When the *Schwenkfelders* afterwards went to other parts, these gentlemen, unwilling to give the affair up, made the count an offer of a piece of land for a settlement. As there was reason to hope that, by this means, a way might be opened to the Indians in those parts, particularly the *Greeks* and *Cherokees*, who showed themselves well affected towards the English; some Brethren resolved to go thither. The first company set out from *Herrnhut* in November 1734, furnished with a testimonial from Mr. *Steinhofer*, recommending them as exiles who, indeed, wished that the government might grant them, with liberty of conscience, an opportunity of propagating the gospel among the Heathen; but who neither desired any personal emolument, nor would complain of former oppressions, to the disadvantage of any one\*. At *London* they found Mr. *Spangenberg*, who had nearly concluded every thing relative to their passage and settlement with the trustees, and with general *Oglethorpe*, then governor of *Georgia*; and had, on this occasion, made an acquaintance with some of the bishops of the church of

\* This precaution was highly requisite, on account of the situation of the courts of *Vienna* and *London* at that time; and it was found necessary to repeat it frequently by word of mouth.

England, who obtained thereby such knowledge of the Brethren, that they were not only willing to see them settled in the English colonies, but even offered, of their own accord, if it should be desired, to ordain any Brother; which, however, was not thought necessary.

This colony arrived in *Georgia* in the spring 1735, and received in summer a considerable encrease of Brethren, conducted by *David Nitschmann*, senior. Three zealous ministers of the church of England, namely, Mr. *John Wesley*, afterwards one of the principal preachers of the so-called *Methodists*, together with his brother *Charles*, and Mr. *Benjamin Ingham*, went with them in the same ship to *Georgia*. This was the occasion to the first acquaintance of the Brethren with many awakened souls in England, as will farther appear hereafter. The Brethren began immediately their settlement in the town of *Savannah*, and God so blessed their industry, that they were not only soon in a capacity of maintaining themselves, but also of being serviceable to their neighbours. They erected a school house for the children of the Indians, on the river *Savannah*, four English miles above the town; which they and their king *Tomo Tschatschi* came to see, that they might, as they expressed it, *hear the great word*. Consequently, this colony presented a fair prospect, both with respect to the settlement itself, (for in the year 1738 they had already paid off all the money advanced to them) and the conversion of the Heathen, till, in 1739, the war which began in 1737 with the neighbouring Spaniards broke out anew, and they were called upon to take up arms against them. This obliged them, after defraying all the expences incurred on their account, and abandoning their well cultivated land and their houses, to withdraw to *Pennsylvania*, as we shall see in the following Part.

§ 62.

THE Rev. Mr. Spangenberg, on his journey through Holland to England, in order to forward the Brethren to Georgia, made enquiry concerning the state of Surinam in South America, where the Surinam Company in Holland were settling colonies, and inviting people from all countries to form them. Being under a necessity of addressing the company in writing, and wanting a person capable of translating the writings he was furnished with, into Low Dutch, he was directed to *Isaac Lelong*, whose employ this was. He made Spangenberg, and at the same time the congregation of the Brethren, known to many religious persons and clergymen, by means of the pieces he had to translate; and Spangenberg formed an useful connection with them. This was the first acquaintance of the Brethren in Holland. Upon the memorial which he presented, a committee of the company was nominated, with whom he treated touching the conditions upon which the Brethren would form a settlement in Surinam. In summer 1735 the first three Brethren set off on their voyage thither. Their object was, to obtain a more complete knowledge of the country, and more especially of the Heathen there. They were followed in 1738 and 1740 by some other Brethren, having obtained a grant from the directors of the company. They purchased and cultivated a plantation, not far from *Paramaribo*, and laboured among the Negroes and Indians, and also among the Jews in those parts; and their labour seemed not in vain. But being troubled on account of having meetings in their own habitation, which their neighbours frequented in great numbers; and afterwards dissensions arising among the Brethren themselves; they determined in 1745 to leave the colony, some of them withdrawing to Pennsylvania, and some to the neighbouring *Rio de Berbice*. From hence the Brethren were in 1754 invited again to Surinam,

## 196 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

when not only their former privileges were renewed, but more doors to the Heathen opened; as we shall see in its place.

### § 63.

By this time, the Brethren were spread abroad in several colonies and missions, and had a fair prospect of settling more. They, of course, wanted ministers who were regularly ordained. They could not reasonably expect that a sufficient number of subjects, properly qualified for the arduous undertaking of settling missions among the Heathen, would be found ready and willing in the Lutheran church, with which, in other respects, they remained in close connexion; nor, that, in defect of such, the consistories would be willing to ordain for the ministry any Moravian Brethren, proposed by themselves, however well qualified, though illiterate. They stood in need of an ordination, which the most rigid Episcopalians in the English colonies must acknowledge; that so, their administering holy baptism, and other ecclesiastical functions, might be deemed valid. Thus they found themselves under a necessity of reviving the episcopal ordination of their forefathers, in the branch of the Moravian Brethren which was now shooting up afresh. This ordination had been acknowledged in England\*; although it was extinct in the last Bohemian-Moravian bishop *Comenius*, and existed now only in the Polish branch of the Unity of the Brethren. The count had, for divers reasons, hitherto discountenanced it; and the more, from an apprehension, lest the Brethren might furnish a new occasion of contention to such as would have been glad to exclude them from the fellowship of the Protestant church, or to make them a particular religion or sect. But, with a view to

\* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, Report, &c.* p. 6. App. p. 41.

furnish

furnish them with duly qualified candidates for the ministry, he had in 1728 done all he could to bring to effect the *Collegium pastorale practicum* at *Jena*, mentioned § 24, and afterwards, in 1734, a *Seminary* in the dukedom of *Wuerttemberg*. (§ 54.) But, as he could not attain his aim either way, he was necessitated to comply with the desire of the Moravian Brethren to have the episcopal ordination and church-privileges of their fathers renewed. The choice fell upon *David Nitschmann*, senior, who, amongst other functions in the congregation, was one of those who had begun the mission in *St. Thomas*, and was, at this very time, about to set out upon a visitation in the colonies and missions; having also this year conducted a reinforcement to the colony in *Georgia*, (§ 61.) from whence he went to *Pennsylvania*, with a view to go from thence on a visitation to *St. Thomas* and *St. Croix*. But, being prevented, he resigned this commission to *Spangenberg*. The count had already carried on a correspondence with *Dr. Jablonsky*, then the eldest bishop, or senior, of the Brethren's Unity, about the renewal of the episcopal ordination. *David Nitschmann* had also visited him several times, and was examined and approved by him. He, therefore, was, in the name of the Moravian Brethren, presented by the count, as their present warden, in a letter of March the 6th 1735, to *Jablonsky*, and by him, with the fore-knowledge and concurrence of his colleague, the senior *Sitkovius* of *Lissa* in Poland, on the 13th of March 1735, in presence of some witnesses of the Bohemian nation, consecrated at *Berlin* a bishop, or senior, of the congregations of the Moravian Brethren; "having, at the same time, full powers given him to hold the incumbent visitations, to ordain the ministers and servants of the church there resident, and to perform all the other functions belonging to a senior and antistes of the church."

## § 64.

IN the mean time, the count had received certain information, that the congregation of the Brethren, and especially his own person, had been very much traduced in places where one should least of all have suspected it, particularly at the court of *Denmark*, on account of divers words and actions misconstrued or falsely related. In order that this might have no hurtful influence upon the missions among the Heathens in the Danish dominions; he found it necessary, himself to make a journey in 1735 to *Copenhagen*, to solicit the king for an *Examination* in presence of the theological faculty. But he received for answer, that no such thing was necessary, seeing no one had as yet lodged any formal complaint against him. He, therefore, hastened his return through *Schonen*, by way of *Ystad*, that he might be again at Herrnhut by Whitfuntide. This expeditious journey through a small part of Sweden, gave occasion to a new accusation and reply. For soon after, a rescript appeared from *Stokholm*, "That, although the count  
 " had preached at Stralsund, yet now, on account of many  
 " errors, he had been desired at Copenhagen to leave the  
 " country; and that, as he was supposed to intend settling  
 " in Sweden, proper means should be used to prevent it." This obliged him to publish the *Letter to the King of Sweden*, printed in December 1735 at *Ratisbon*, which was distributed to all the Protestant ambassadors at their houses; and especially sent to the kings of *Poland* and *Prussia*, accompanied with very submissive letters under his own hand. In the letter to the king of Sweden he previously guards against any notion, as if it were a new confession of faith; but rather, having been written out of the fulness of his heart, it was to evince, in what manner he comprehended the mind of the fathers, after whom he did not only speak with his lips, but believed and confessed their sentiments with his

his heart. Afterwards he explains himself amply and solidly, and almost always in the same terms, upon each article of the *Confession of Augsburg*, as being his own confession, and that of the Brethren. This letter was received with uncommon eagerness, even by the Catholic states themselves, and silenced many machinations of the enemies, who would have been glad to see the Brethren expelled the Roman empire; as indeed it cannot be looked upon by any one in any other light, than as a solemn declaration of their adhering to the Augustan confession.

§ 65.

In the beginning of the year 1736, the count, as though he had an intimation that he should be, for a long season, removed to a distance from them, held with the elders and helpers at Herrnhut many important conferences concerning the doctrine and practice, as also the congregation-regulation, their deportment towards the established religion, and towards erroneous persons, &c. and, in consequence of an invitation, set out in February for *Holland*. The Brethren were already known here by occasion of their voyage to *Georgia*. (§ 62.) The following year, 1735, *David Nitschmann*, junior, came to *Holland*, and in 1736, *Frederic Martin*, who, with his company, were bound for *St. Thomas*, by way of *Curassao*, and these were all lovingly received by the friends, (as the term there is) and introduced to more acquaintance. Mean while, *Lelong*, having had several accounts concerning Herrnhut and the Moravian Brethren from *Spangenberg* to translate, communicated them to the public through the press with many encomiums, in his book, *Godts Wonderen met zyne Kerke*. (The Wonders of God with his Church.) Indeed, this caused much admiration and enquiry in *Holland*: but met with the entire disapprobation of the count, who at all times was, least of all,



## 200 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part III.

pleased with praises, and to whom, now especially, it would have been most desirable to have remained unnoticed of the world. The prince's dowager of *Orange* made enquiry, by a letter to him, concerning the authenticity of these accounts, and the situation of the Moravian Brethren; inviting him at the same time to make her a visit at *Leuwarden*, and wishing to have a colony of Moravian Brethren in her barony of *Yffelstein*. At the same time, the Brethren had been solicited by some of the most considerable personages, in church and state, to send missions to *Surinam*, *Rio de Berbice*, *Guinea*, and *Curassao*; and some friends had offered to supply the mission in *Greenland*, which was at that time in great distress, with the necessary provisions from Holland. Moreover, the Brethren had a view to settle missions among the *Hottentots* and *Cingalese*.

These affairs induced the count to make a journey with his lady, in the beginning of the year 1736, to *Amsterdam*. He commenced an acquaintance with many divines of the Reformed church; who, notwithstanding his dissent from them in the controverted points, (with regard to which he, as an undisguised Lutheran, openly avowed his own sentiments,) honoured and loved him as a particular servant of God; as he likewise, on his part, with respect to the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, conceived much more favourable notions of them, than are usually entertained by persons at a distance. He conferred with the directors of the East and West India companies, in reference to the missions desired, all of which, excepting *Curassao*, were in a few years brought to effect. In the house he had hired for himself, and for the accommodation of the Brethren who were come partly with him, and partly from other places to meet him, he kept his usual family-devotions, which were attended by many ministers, magistrates, and other well disposed persons. But as, for want of room, all the people who gathered at the door could not come in, it occasioned a sort of mob, which obliged him to drop the

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the meetings. He had much intercourse with the *Mennonists* and their teachers, whom he warned against Crypto-Socinianism, and actually rescued some of them from it. Nor was his conversation without some benefit, even to the celebrated *Artemonius*, or *Samuel Crellius* \*, who also sought an interview with him; and it proved especially a lasting blessing to the two daughters of this man. On his journey to *Lewwarden*, he visited in *Groningen*, where he preached in the Lutheran church. But, whether his interviews with divers literati were either misunderstood, or wrested to a different sense; or his firm adherence, in particular, to the doctrine of the universal grace of God, gave offence; certain it is, that they in the sequel gave occasion to many bitter polemical treatises against him. And as all the people, who had attended his meetings at Amsterdam, were looked upon as *Herrnhuters*; all the strange notions and expressions of some of them were, on the one hand, charged upon him; and, on the other, to render him very odious, he was accused of adopting and warranting all the opinions of these people, how contradictory soever; that, having thus got a party among the people, he might, upon some favourable opportunity, strengthen the party of the prince of Orange, which was at that time oppressed. This imputation brought afterwards great sufferings upon him and the Brethren.

\* The writings of *Artemonius*, or *Samuel Crellius*, are well known. He was a Socinian, and a leader of that party. He is still quoted as one of their strongest advocates, but the endless mercy of our Lord was also manifest in him. He not only rejoiced to see his daughters bow their knees to the Crucified; but he himself, turning to that Lord, called upon him as his Lord and his God; and found, at the latter end of his life, no consolation but in the atonement by the blood of Jesus, and wished that all his books could die with him. This has been testified not only by his daughters, but by all who were with him before his end. (The Editor.)

## § 66.

BUT let us first take a view of the immediate consequences of this journey. These were, a colony of the Brethren in *Holland*, and several missions among the Heathen, which shall be specified in the next Part. As to the colony, after many proposals, at length a spot was fixed upon for it near the town of *Yffelslein*, which was immediately in 1736 occupied by some Brethren called from the colony in *Holstein*. Much as the princeps of *Orange* wished to have this colony soon brought to bear, yet certain difficulties arose, which, in the beginning of the year 1737, were removed, after the count himself had, in a letter to the princeps, first obviated the inconvenience which might accrue to the barony, if the colonists should be indulged with such privileges, as might either render the old inhabitants envious and discontented, or the new, unserviceable. The principal view with this colony, which was called *Heerendyk*, was, partly, to settle the Brethren, who had been dismissed from the principality of *Holstein*, in this place; and partly, to have a spot in *Holland*, where the missionaries sent to the Heathen might sojourn, preparing for their voyage, and furnishing themselves with the needful sea-stores, before they went on board. This last view was attained. Although the troubles which soon followed, would never allow this colony to make any considerable increase, yet it proved a blessing to many persons, till the year 1746, when the Brethren settled at *Zeist* in the see of *Utrecht*: because they saw there with their own eyes the direct opposite to all that which, by reports and books, had been spread abroad to the disadvantage of the Brethren.

THE  
MODERN HISTORY  
OF THE  
BRETHREN.

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PART IV.

*From the second Commission at Herrnhut in 1736,  
to Count Zinzendorf's second Voyage to America in  
1741.*

§ 67.

**M**EAN while a storm had been gathering, which threatened total destruction to the congregation at *Herrnhut*. The disturbances about the Bohemian emigration were not yet allayed. People were still coming out of Bohemia, and were received without any noise by one or another of the states. The count was again accused with respect to the emigration of some people out of Moravia and Silesia, which had, however, almost totally ceased since 1732. Add to this, that a certain nobleman, much respected among the states of the country, on account of some irregularities which had occurred on his estates, (for such, the private meetings and visits to Herrnhut were styled) lodged a complaint against the count and the congregation at  
Herrn-

## 204 MODERN HISTORY of the BAPTISTEN, Part IV.

Herrnhut\* ; nor did he rest till a mandate was issued, dated March the 20th 1736, for a local commission to be sent to Herrnhut. And the very same day the *Consilium abeundi* (order to quit the country) was dated, which was delivered to the count at *Cassel* on the 21st of April, on his return from Holland. Which way he directed his course afterwards, and what good ensued from this exile, will appear hereafter. Consequently, he could not personally appear at this commission, how much soever he, at that time, desired a strict examination. But he sent his lady with so much the greater expedition to Herrnhut, that she might give the honourable commissioners a suitable reception. This commission arrived at Herrnhut on the 9th of May, and continued to the 18th of the same month. It consisted of the deputy-lieutenant of Upper Lusatia, *De Loeben*, the lord of the bedchamber, *De Holzendorf*, the counsellor of appeals and of the consistory, *Dr. Heidenreich*, and the superintendent of Dresden, the Rev. *Dr. Loecher*. The congregation made no alteration in their usual regulations and meetings, that every thing might be seen and heard, as it really was. The elders, the helpers, and all the Brethren who were called before the commissioners, spoke with freedom and boldness, and without the least reserve and dissimulation, committing all the consequences to their Lord and Saviour. They all avowed the doctrine of the unaltered confession of Augsburg ; nor did any debate on that head arise, except with some of the literati, who were either to embrace at the same time the rest of the symbolic books, or to be dismissed from their employments in the schools. The honourable commissioners were content, upon the whole, with the

\* This nobleman, with whom then the utmost pains which the count took to set him to rights were all in vain, was afterwards, by a particular leading of God, convinced of his error. He not only visited the congregation at Herrnhut himself, which proved a blessing to his own heart ; but, moreover, gave his subjects, whom he had severely persecuted before, an opportunity " of making the best use of their living near real evangelical Christians."

doctrine,

doctrine, and with what had been delivered at the meetings, which they every day attended. Only in the constitution they wished to have one or another thing altered. But in this the Brethren would not acquiesce: for, being in a state of confession, it might have been misconstrued in them as shunning the cross; and therefore they offered rather to emigrate. Thus they were left unmolested as to these particulars also.

I have been informed by Brethren who were present, and find it also on record in the accounts of that time, that all the commissioners were greatly surprised and moved at every thing they saw and heard; and that they testified so much the greater dissatisfaction at several regulations, quite different from those of Herrnhut, which the parish-minister had introduced amongst his parishioners at Bertholdsdorf, and which, as it can hardly be supposed otherwise, had, for fear of censure, been laid aside a little while before the arrival of the commission. They declared that people who, for the sake of the gospel, had forsaken all their substance, being the descendents of a church which, long before the Reformation, had avowed the Protestant doctrine, and had stood up for their church-privileges and special constitution, under tortures and in prisons, ought in justice, in all the Protestant countries, to be left to their own liberty of living according to the usages derived to them from their forefathers; which, if mimicked in other places, ought to be styled disorder. Dr. Loefcher especially is said to have greatly extolled the good order of the congregation at Herrnhut, to have acknowledged the count's innocence, and exhorted the Brethren with tears to persevere upon the good foundation of that doctrine they had expressed, in connexion with the Lutheran religion, notwithstanding all the indisputable defects of it, and to shine as a light among their neighbours. The very same testimony he is said to have publicly repeated at *Dresden*, as an encouragement to his own congregation.

## § 68.

BEFORE I proceed in the narrative of the journies and transactions of the count and other Brethren; I will, for the sake of the connexion, immediately subjoin the consequences of this memorable commission.

After a third commission in February 1737, on account of the Bohemian emigration \*, at which the Brethren's innocence again appeared, the resolution of government, on the 7th of August 1737, was to this effect. "That the congregation at Herrnhut shall, as long as they continue in the doctrine of the unaltered confession of Augsburg, be left undisturbed in their regulations and discipline, as hitherto." In consequence of this declaration, the Moravian Brethren, after a previous examination of all the charges alledged against them, were acknowledged adherents to the Augustan confession; and their constitution was confirmed.

About the same time, the count, upon the representation of his father-in-law, *De Nunner*, field-marshal general to his Prussian majesty, was permitted to return to Saxony. However, they soon presented him with a deed, which he was to sign, and by which he should obligate himself to remedy many disorderly things laid to his charge. This he could not do without a tacit acknowledgment of his having been guilty of these disorders, with respect to which he found himself perfectly innocent. He, therefore, solicited for an examination of these charges, promising, in case they should be found true, to execute the deed prescribed to him. But as his petition was not granted him, he went for the third time into a voluntary exile. This was construed as a

\* This examination, which was committed to the deputy-lieutenant *De Loeben*, and the president *De Gersdorf*, concerned all the states of Upper Lusatia, who had received Bohemians; and was taken in hand, after the Royal rescript had been properly notified at *Bertholdsdorf* and *Herrnhut* by Mr. *Marche*; the occasion and result of which we shall see hereafter,

perverse obstinacy in him ; and, on this account, the return into Saxony was, on the 19th of March 1738, forbidden him for ever. But yet, this exile terminated at the end of ten years. All this time he ever retained not only an unchangeable affection and veneration for the royal and electoral house of Saxony ; but also, amidst all appearance of impossibility, the firm hope of seeing, within the space of ten years, the true design of his labour for the good of the Protestant church, acknowledged, and executed through the same illustrious house, and the very departments that had separated him from his beloved Herrnhut. This hope, which he frequently expressed, hardly any one could comprehend, till, to every one's astonishment, it came to pass ; as we shall see in its place.

§ 69.

IN the mean time, immediately upon the sight of this *consilium abundi*, the count had repaired to *Ebersdorf* in *Vogtland* to his brother-in-law, count Henry the XXIX Reufs. He had appointed some of his fellow-labourers to meet him here. With them he held a conference upon the exigences of the colonies and missions, such especially as had lately been proposed in Holland. From hence he also wrote to several eminent adversaries, both in ecclesiastical and civil stations, earnestly beseeching them to submit the accusations against him, which they had hitherto entertained and propagated, to an examination by a conference, and to hear him in his own behalf. The same request he has often repeated since, but never could obtain it. Whenever a suitable opportunity for that end presented itself, it has been studiously avoided ; and his enemies continued to speak and write against him.

From *Ebersdorf* he went to *Wetteravia*, where the seed which the late Dr. Spener, and many faithful witnesses, had sown with tears, had, through a diversity of parties, received



ceived damage in its growth. In *Francfort on the Mayne*, not knowing where to find a resting-place for his feet, he received from Mr. *Neumann*, a steward of the count of *Meerholz*, a very friendly invitation to come to him to *Marienborn*. He accepted of it; and here several offers of places were made him for a residence: but he chose a very old, ruinous castle, on a hill, called *Ronneburg*, for his present habitation; because there, and in the environs of it, many poor and ignorant people lived, to whom he hoped to prove a blessing. On June the 14th, 1736, he arrived here, and, on the 17th, he preached on the gospel of that Sunday, *Of the lost sheep*. It was attended by Christians of various sects and persuasions, and even by Jews. He set up schools for the children; and, to prevent their going about begging, (which was their common custom) he distributed bread and money for clothing among them. Yet even these good institutions soon met with opposition; and endeavours were used to hinder the public meetings, in a country where, otherwise, every one may believe and speak what he pleases. The count found it expedient to explain himself on this head to the count of *Yfenburg Wacchtersbach*, sovereign of the territory; intimating, that the pure motive of his repairing to *Ronneburg* had been, to have an opportunity of preaching the gospel to the poor, to the salvation of their souls.

Hither his lady followed him on the 13th of July, with their children, having staid at *Herrnhut* till the conclusion of the commission, and made due provision for the care and management of the institutions there. It was here also that those Brethren met, who were intended for missions and colonies. With them he began, in great poverty, that blessed household, which afterwards, for many years, was known by the name of, *The Pilgrim-Congregation*, in which so many labourers amongst Christians and Heathens were prepared, sent out into all the world, and, on their return, refreshed both in body and soul.

§ 70.

JULY the 27th 1736 the count set out upon his journey to *Livonia*, so long and often wished-for, by way of *Jena*, *Halle*, and *Berlin*, where he conferred with some Brethren from Herrnhut concerning the colony in *Danish Holstein*, which he neither would advise, nor hinder. As early as the years 1729 and 1730, at the instance of a certain clergyman, who had heard many good reports concerning Herrnhut, and wished to become more intimately acquainted with the Brethren, *Christian David* and *David Nitschmann* had made a visit in *Livonia*; and, since that time, many persons of rank, both of the clergy and laity, had solicited the count for a visit. He arrived on the 8th of September at *Riga*, where he visited the superintendent general *Fischer*, and the general *De Campenhausen*, and became acquainted with several Swedish officers, who, during their captivity in *Siberia*, had instituted and supported that celebrated and laudable school. In *Wolmarshof* he visited lady *De Hallart*, relict of general Hallart, a pious lady from Saxony, whom God, among others, made use of for the introduction, not only of the writings, but also of ministers from *Halle*, into *Livonia* and *Russia*. In *Reval* he had, among others, an interview with the pastor primarius *Mikwitz*, and the Rev. Messrs. *Vierorth* and *Gutshuff*, and preached in the church of St. Olaus, and in the cathedral. Many of the states of the country would have gladly kept him with them, and made various well-meant proposals to him. On his return, he could not refuse preaching at *Riga* for the superintendent general at St. James's church, which he did afterwards twice more. On this journey he had an opportunity of conversing with some of the most considerable clergymen in *Livonia*, to whom he gave his advice how to labour with success among the *Lettonian* and *Esthonian* nations. He also opened a subscription for printing Bibles at a low

price, for the benefit of the poor country-people; as it appears from the *Preface to the Lettonian Bible*. Many persons of rank solicited him for private tutors and faithful domestics. Ministers begged of him assistants in their churches and schools. Lady Hallart, in particular, requested of him an house-chaplain, and catechists for the use of an institution at Wolmarshof intended to prepare school-masters. The count promised to gratify all their wishes, as far as lay in his power; in consequence of which, his first care was, to dispatch thither, in 1737, five Brethren. Among these was *Magnus Frederic Buntebart*, a student of divinity, of the institution of Jena, which was then still flourishing; (§ 24.) who, upon a vocation to the office of catechist from lady Hallart, having, at his examination before the superintendent general Fischer, met with extraordinary approbation, was appointed assistant to the Rev. Mr. *Barlach* at Wolmarshof, with a view to prepare, in the school lately set on foot, grown Lettonian peasants for school-masters, and young people for the holy communion. To say nothing of the blessing which attended the rest of the Brethren sent to Livonia; an awakening arose among the peasants, both in and out of this school, which soon amounted to thousands. And as this, on account of some disorders, which, in the beginning, had crept in, and could not be approved of, no more than they could immediately be put a stop to in the first zeal, made a great stir, giving occasion to various reports, and hard oppressions, the school-institution was examined into by an Imperial general church-visitation, when not only the doctrine and method were approved, but even other lords of manors and ministers were advised to send to this praise-worthy institution young people to be prepared for parish-clerks and school-masters. Many, even such as at first had endeavoured to hinder it, were induced to interest themselves in this institution; by which means the awakening spread farther and farther.

§ 71.

THE count, upon his return through Berlin, was invited to *Wusterhausen* by the king, *Frederic William*, to whom various unfavourable notions about the count had been insinuated. After several long and ample conversations, during the three days he was obliged to spend there, the king, having received very different conceptions of him, declared, in some rather harsh expressions, in presence of the whole court, that he regarded the accusations, that the count occasioned confusions in church and state, as calumnies, and that his view, as a count, of propagating the kingdom of God, how extraordinary soever, was so far from deserving censure, that it should rather be encouraged and supported\*. But that this might be done in the usual order, and without show, he advised him to receive a regular ordination. For the sake of the missions in the English dominions, it was most expedient that he should receive an *episcopal* ordination; and, on account of the Moravian Brethren, the ordination of the church of the Brethren was required; which no one could confer upon him but the eldest antistes of the Unity at that time, Dr. *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, who was at the same time dean of the king's chapel at the court of Berlin; and *David Nitschmann*. The king, therefore, ordered the dean of his chapel to confer upon this head with the count, whom he characterises "an honest and sensible man, who hath "no other views, but the propagation of true and solid "Christianity, and the sound doctrine of the word of God." Upon the report *Jablonsky* made of the result of their conference, the count requested of the king, as a condition without which he could not receive ordination, that the

\* This the king endeavoured to put in practice, sending, by special favour, an order to count *Degenfeld*, his minister of the circle of the Upper Rhine, to support the settlements of the Brethren in those parts. (See *Acta Fratrum*, App. lxi. p. 45. note, where it is to be read *Upper Rhine*, instead of *Nether Rhine*.)

## 212 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

Lutheran deans at Berlin might first examine into his orthodoxy and sentiments, since he would not be invested with this function otherwise than as a Lutheran divine. Upon this, the king ordered the Lutheran deans *Reinbeck* and *Rohlf* to take this examination upon them. For this examination, the aim of which was to insure to the congregation security and tranquillity, as far as the form of the cross would admit; to further the preaching of the gospel, and to guard sincere souls against incurring guilt by aggrieving the Brethren; he delivered the requisite documents to the deans, intimating to them where they might find the accusations which were propagated in the dark, without any detriment to their authors and abettors. For this purpose he gave them half a year's time, and prosecuted his journey to his family in *Wetteravia*.

### § 72.

NOT far from *Ronneburg*, he was informed that his lady and her family, together with the Brethren she had with her, had been driven thence by the malevolence of the steward, who would not allow of the preaching of the gospel, and the charity-school, and had repaired to *Francfort*. Here he found the Brethren in a blessed intercourse with some awakened souls, even such as had suffered themselves to be drawn into separatism; some of whom were, through their remonstrances, reconciled to the church. These wished to attend his family-devotions. He allowed it to some of them; and was afterwards obliged, in order to prevent suspicions among the people, to admit every one. To obviate all show, and prevent commotions among the magistrates and the clergy on that account, he gave them an information of it in writing, and replied to some queries which had been put to the awakened souls respecting his person and transactions. After his return from his tour through *Holland* and *England* in the beginning of the year 1737, he published here, *The sixth*

*faith Declaration of his Mind, and of the Ground of his Adherence to the Lutheran Church, which is well worth reading.*

Before his journey to England, he held, with the consent of the count of *Meerholz*, in *Marienborn*, the palace of the counts of *Ysenburg*, which he afterwards rented for his family, from the 10th to the 12th of December 1736, the first synod of the renewed church of the Brethren. This synod consisted of such labourers from *Herrnhut* and other places, as happened to be then with him. The most important affairs relative to the church of the Brethren, and the propagation of the kingdom of God through the service of the Brethren, especially among the Heathen, were, at this synod, discussed, and the necessary resolutions taken.

### § 73.

UPON his journey to *England*, the count made visits in *Holland* to many great personages, especially at the *Hague*. But he fell into a dispute with an eminent divine, upon the subject of unconditional election and reprobation, which has been attended with painful consequences. On the 20th of January 1737 he arrived at *London*. His view was properly to confer with *Dr. John Potter* (a man admirably versed in ecclesiastical history, and in the canon-law; who, from being bishop of *Oxford*, had just then been promoted to the archiepiscopal see of *Canterbury*) concerning the affair of the *Moravian* church, and the ordination, which he was now going to receive. He had, several years before, written to him on this subject; but the letter having, some way or other, miscarried, was now first answered in a brotherly manner. On this occasion the count became acquainted with general *Oglethorpe*, and the *Trustees of Georgia*, with whom he entered into a conference relative to the colony of the Brethren there. Some of these trustees were *Associates of the late Dr. Bray*, who had, by his last will and testament, made provision for

the conversion of the Negroes in *South Carolina*. These gentlemen solicited the count for some missionaries to be sent thither. Upon his objecting that the church of England would not acknowledge the Brethren as duly ordained, they sent deputies to consult the archbishop on this head; and obtained the following answer. "That the Moravian Brethren were an apostolical and episcopal church, not sustaining any doctrines repugnant to the XXXIX Articles of the church of England \*; that they, therefore, could not with propriety, nor ought to, be hindered from preaching the gospel to the Heathen †."

Besides these, the count made acquaintance with several lords, and with sundry dignitaries of the church of England. He also became acquainted with a learned Quaker, *Josias Martin*, to please whom, he drew up a concise history of the Brethren in French; as he also afterwards, during his second voyage to America, took more pains to be of service to that people.

Some well disposed Germans attended, amongst others, his family-devotions. To these, the Brethren that were with him proved a blessing. At his departure they solicited him to make some kind of regulations among them for

\* The question was not, Whether the Brethren believe what the church of England teaches? but, Whether their tenets are repugnant to the *Thirty-nine Articles*, as the confession of the church of England, which, as to the essential part, is not different from the *Confession of Augsburg*? The Rev. Mr. *Lintrup*, a Danish divine, has shown the harmony of both these confessions, alledging for proof the words of Dr. *Bull*, late bishop of *St. David's*; "Confessionem Augustanam, utpote omnium reformatarum nobilissimam, ita secuti sunt ecclesiæ nostræ proceres, ut, qui illam ignoret, articulorum nostrorum mentem ac sententiam vix rectè percepturus sit." The purport of which is, That the *Thirty-nine Articles* of the church of England must be understood and explained according to the sense of the confession of *Augsburg*.

† See *Acta Fratrum*, &c. *App.* x. p. 11.

their farther edification. He complied with their request. On his way to Germany, through Holland, where he dispatched the deputy from the mission, in Greenland, *Christian Stach*, for his return thither, a similar society formed itself at *Amsterdam*, under the direction of some pious ministers.

§ 74.

AFTER a short stay at *Francfort on the Mayne*, (§ 72.) the count went with his family to *Berlin*, where he presented himself for the conference and examination of his orthodoxy, which he himself had requested, and the king had directed the Lutheran deans to take in hand. (§ 71.) Their Report \* to the king was to this effect: " That they found no other " doctrine held by him, but what is taught in the evangelic † " church." Scruples were, indeed, suggested to the king, whether this ordination, and the Moravian church-constitution, hereby acknowledged in Germany, might not have the appearance of a fourth Religion in the Roman Empire? The king required the sentiments of the dean of his chapel on this head: by which the affair was delayed for some time. But *Jablonsky* having found no sufficient ground for scrupulosity on this account, and having submitted it to the examination of the civil courts, a rescript was sent him to put it into execution. Thus, on the 20th of May 1737, the count, (whom I shall henceforth stile, *The Ordinary of the Brethren*, although it was not till some time after that he was known to the public under this title) in the quality of a Lutheran divine ‡, who had already been several times, and now but very

\* See the Answer of the late king of *Prussia* to the Report of the committee appointed to confer with count Zinzendorf, &c. *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Append. xi p. 11.*

† So the *Lutheran* church is called at the *German* courts. (The Editor)

‡ The question, " Whether the count, having received the " episcopal ordination, which none but the eldest antistes of " the Unity could impart to him, did thereby go over to the



very lately, examined and approved as such; received, by the hands of the eldest antistes of the Polish branch, *Daniel Bonest Jablonsky*, and of the first bishop of the renewed Moravian branch, *David Nitschmann*, (§ 63) and with the concurrence and blessing of the senior *Sitkovius* of Lissa, the episcopal Ordination, the instrument of which was executed on the 24th of June\*. The archbishop of *Canterbury*, who styles the episcopacy of the Brethren, *Sanctam, vereque illustrem Cathedralam* (sacred and justly celebrated), cordially congratulated him upon this event†; promising his love, affection, and his utmost assistance, to this church of confessors, “having hitherto (he writes) invariably maintained both the pure and primitive faith, and the discipline of the first church; being neither intimidated by dangers, nor seduced by the manifold temptations of Satan.”

## § 75.

It was during the ordinary's stay at *Berlin*, that field-marshal general *De Nazmer*, his father-in-law, had obtained of the king of Poland permission for him to return to *Herrnhut*. He arrived there June the 30th 1737. Soon after followed his majesty's royal decree of confirmation respecting

“Reformed religion, since this same antistes was, at that very time, invested with an office in the Reformed church;” he himself has answered in a letter to a minister in Sweden. See the *Buedingen-Collection*, II. p. 3.

However, by this step also he raised again many adversaries against himself; and many who had before praised his views and abetted them, now repented of what they had done. But *Jablonsky* persevered in his friendship till his end in 1741.

As to the count's sentiments concerning the episcopal ordination of the Brethren, they may be read in his *Natural Reflections*, p. 172. n. 1. p. 267. *Apolog. Declaration*, *Quest.* 166. *Final Apology*, p. 210. *Quest.* 526.

\* This *Instrument* may be found at large in the *Acta Fratrum*, App. xvi. p. 3, & seq.

† The whole of this congratulatory letter is to be seen in the *Editor's Preface* to this History.

*Herrnhut,*

Herrnhut, dated August the 7th, 1737, which has been mentioned above. (§ 68.) The Rev. Mr. *Roth*, minister of the parish of *Bertholdsdorf*, to the great grief of the ordinary, accepted a vocation to *Hermisdorf*, near *Goerliz*, from which place he, in 1739, removed to *Tonnendorf*, on the borders of Silesia. *Caspar Leonhard Mukke* of *Nochten* was nominated in his room for *Bertholdsdorf*, to whom the congregation at Herrnhut was also recommended. It being required of the ordinary to sign a declaration (§ 68.) which he could not in conscience comply with, he, on the 4th of December 1737, went again into exile, having delivered his farewell-discourse to the congregation on these lines of an hymn:

“ Let thy true follow’rs, though oppress’d,  
“ Beneath oppression, conqu’rors be !”

On the 13th of April 1738, a rescript was sent to Herrnhut, in which the count was forbidden ever to return into the country. He again repaired to *Wetteravia*; from whence, pursuant to the solicitation of his friends at *London*, he dispatched some Brethren to *England*, *Georgia*, and *Carolina*; as we shall see hereafter. Before the end of the same year, he went to *Berlin*, by way of *Jena*, where his eldest son *Christian Renatus* had been resident since January 1737.

## § 76.

ABOUT the end of the year 1737, his lady, with her children, followed him hither, from Herrnhut; and his son with his tutors, from *Jena*; as also some labourers from Herrnhut and other places. He hired an house, and, having regulated his family, held daily meetings, as usual in a congregation. Many people were desirous of attending them; but, on account of the show he apprehended it might occasion, he was scrupulous to permit it. But yet, some clergymen requesting of him to hold public meetings, he desired to know the king’s pleasure on that head, who wished him the blessing of God to his undertaking.

undertaking. He also wrote to the principal divines, requesting that, if they entertained any scruples concerning him, they would freely disclose them to him. Having conferred with dean Reinbeck and the president of the consistory *De Reichenbach*, with respect to the intended public meetings, he allowed some few persons, not indeed to come to his usual family-devotions, but, to attend the discourses to be held on purpose, in his own apartment; but this, and at length the saloon itself, proved too small. He divided the men and women, preaching to each of the sexes twice a week; and yet the numbers were so great, that, for want of room, no benches, or even a chair, could be set in the place. Citizens and soldiers, clergy and courtiers stood promiscuously together; but for some ministers of state, and generals, and for weakly people, convenience was made for sitting in an adjoining apartment. Thus, from the first of January, to the 27th of April 1738, he delivered *Sixty Discourses* upon the exposition of the second article in Luther's catechism, the Lord's prayer, and some texts of scripture. These he got printed, with a dedication to the queen, in order to refute those false copies of them, which had been either wholly invented, or taken down inaccurately. They have also been translated into divers other languages, and have been read with great blessing\*.

Attempts were indeed made to prejudice the king against him; and the writings of some adversaries were put into his hands. But the king behaved, as every impartial judge ought to do. He resolved to give the accused party an hearing, before he would pass sentence. For this purpose, having marked the passages he hesitated about, he sent the book to the ordinary, requesting an answer to them, which he also received. The king assured him he was convinced of the integrity of

\* *Sixteen* of these Discourses have been translated, and published in England. (The Editor.)

his views, and took a gracious leave of him at Potsdam, at his departure, on the 27th of April.

The ordinary did not settle a congregation at *Berlin*, nor did he in any other place where he preached. But he was prevailed upon by some of the awakened, amongst whom were also clergymen, to give them, the day before his departure, good advice how, under the direction of a respectable minister, they might begin and continue their fellowship. On the 29th of April he set out by way of *Cottbus*, where he had appointed some labourers from *Herrnhut* to meet him for a conference, on his return to *Wetteravia*.

### § 77.

DURING his residence at *Berlin* at this time, he renewed also his acquaintance with the *Bohemians* of *Gerlachshaim* and their minister *Augustin Schulz*, mentioned above. (§ 43, 44, 45.) But, on account of their disputes with the *Bohemians* of *Gross Hennersdorf*, he did not find it proper to enter into a nearer connexion with them. However, as we shall find them mentioned oftener in the sequel, we must see how they came from *Saxony* to *Berlin*, and in what situation they were at this time.

The emigration out of *Bohemia* to *Gerlachshaim* had gone on in silence, and without any farther enquiry about it, until, in autumn 1736, seventy-two persons arrived there at once from the village *Czerweny*, in the territory of *Ländschron*. The prince of *Lichtenstein*, to whom this lordship belonged, having lodged a complaint against it at the court of *Dresden*, received for answer, that he might seek and oblige such of his subjects to return, wherever he should meet with them, as had emigrated since the edict issued from that court, forbidding the reception of emigrants; who, thus, were excluded from the benefit of being protected. They were enquired after at *Herrnhut*, but none found there. (§ 63.) Thus the friends of the student *Schulz* gained time,

time, and advised him to get these people out of the way, and take better care of himself. Accordingly, he set their danger before them, and advised them to remove to a greater distance. Their reply was, "*Whither thou goest, we will go; and where thou lodgest, we will lodge.*" (Ruth i. 16.) But being himself apprehensive of some displeasure, and that, if these people were discovered, still more of their countrymen would be carried back, and others deterred from emigrating for the future, he retired in silence to *Cotbus*, and those who had emigrated last, followed him. The lord of the manor of Gerlachshiem, considering it as intended to entice away his subjects, threatened to oblige the old settlers, who had no reason to go away, to make the supposed loss good to him. These poor people being incapable of raising the sum required, were deprived of all their substance, and forced, in the same wretched condition as they had left Bohemia, to follow after their teacher, in February 1737, through a deep snow, four hundred in number. At *Cotbus* they found two hundred Bohemians before them, who, since the emigration in 1732, had from time to time repaired to *Groß Hennerdorf*, but could not be received by the lady of the manor, since the electoral inhibition, and, after half a year's instruction under their faithful and blessed minister *Wanek*, were obliged to go farther. These intended to settle near *Cotbus*, inviting Mr. *Wanek* to be their minister. But he dying in November 1736, they now received the student *Schulz* as their minister. Upon an order from the king, they went to *Berlin*, where lands were assigned them. Consequently three Bohemian colonies met at *Berlin*:

1. Those who in 1732 went thither from *Groß Hennerdorf*, about five hundred persons.
2. Those who, after that time, went through *Hennerdorf* to *Cotbus*, two hundred in number.
3. Those who went thither from *Gerlachshiem* by way of *Cotbus*, between four and five hundred persons.

The

The first colony had settled as citizens in William's Street at Berlin. For the second colony, two farms were assigned in the village *Rucksdorf*, near Berlin, on the road to Cötbus; which were to be divided among eighteen families. But as these farms were not sufficient for them, Schulz advised his Bohemians from Gerlachshheim, whom he wished to keep together, and to see employed in husbandry, to settle there. Thus, part of the third colony not only built these eighteen farm-houses, but also many other smaller houses, the inhabitants of which earn their bread by a cotton-manufacture, which the Bohemians properly first began, and set a going. The student *Schulz* was appointed their minister. He, after declining it for a long time, consented to be ordained, at the consecration of the Bohemian church in 1737. (§ 41.) The great concourse both of Germans and Bohemians, (for at the Bohemian church a German sermon was likewise preached in the morning, and Schulz continued the meetings at his own house) and the endeavours of his Bohemians to restore their regulations, which they had enjoyed at Gerlachshheim, and which had been interrupted by their travels, stirred up envy, chagrin, and various calumnies; which, together with the separation already subsisting among the Bohemians of the first colony, (as will be related hereafter) rendered the union of his congregation with them impossible. Schulz, therefore, withdrew from Berlin to the colony at Rucksdorf; whither those of his congregation who lived at Berlin, came to attend divine service; since they in the church in the city heard nothing which could contribute to their edification, but things which bred contention. They had, besides, their private meetings in an house in William's Street, instructing their children, who were ill treated by the rest, at home by themselves.

In the mean time, *Liberda*, coming to Berlin, (§ 41.) was appointed minister of the Bohemians at the Betulehem-church. He was very desirous of establishing an union.

But

But not being agreed with Schulz in the doctrine ; the former preaching to the Bohemians a reward for the persecution and self-denial they had undergone, by temporal reputation and riches ; but the latter, the imitation of the crucified Jesus by reproach and poverty ; they soon fell at variance again, and the more, as there was no want of secret defamations of, and snares laid for, Schulz and his congregation.

Under these circumstances, the ordinary could not comply with Schulz's desire that he would take care of the Bohemians ; and could do no more than give them his best advice and cordial wishes, till the matter should be more cleared up.

### § 78.

THE ordinary being returned to *Wetteravia*, and having moved into a part of the palace of the count of *Yfenburg Meerholz*, called *Marienborn*, was intent upon establishing, in the neighbourhood of it, a colony for some Moravian Brethren. But the count of *Yfenburg Buedingen* having offered the Brethren a piece of land for a settlement near the *Haag-church* ; this proved more eligible to them. The ordinary, then absent, consented to it, though in terms implying some diffidence. This colony was begun in the year 1738, under the name of *Herrnhag*.

About this very time, many persons out of *Reformed* countries being desirous to join the congregation of the Brethren, and some, on account of their connexion with them, being, soon after, banished their country ; *Herrnhag* was intended, at the same time, to be such an asylum for them, as *Herrnhut* had proved for the *Moravian Brethren* and for *Lutherans*. For these purposes, the Brethren rather chose separate places, than settlements in, or near, cities ; hoping that, by this means, they and their children might remain in peace, being out of the way of the old inhabitants, and neither making any unnecessary show with the usages of  
their

their church, nor giving any occasion for others to mimic them. The congregation at *Herrnbaag* was settled on the 6th of July 1740, being the anniversary of *John Huss's* martyrdom: and in a few years it exceeded the congregation at *Herrnhut* in the number of inhabitants. For as many controversial writings against the Brethren were now every where circulated in the world; people out of various countries were induced to obtain some knowledge of these decried Brethren, and of their ordinary in particular; to see whether the reports of them were true. Many, being convinced of the contrary, asked leave to stay. Far more agreeable would it have been to the ordinary, had they remained in their former places, shining as a light in darkness; but he could not always prevent it: and the less, as his fellow-labourers entertained sentiments in this respect somewhat different from his own, not finding it in their hearts to send away people, who were not tolerated in their own places. Yet the new-comers were closely examined from time to time, and many, often the greatest part of them, were, by friendly representations, induced to return either to their own places, or to such, in which they might enjoy liberty of conscience and the fellowship of the Brethren.

§ 79.

In the mean while, more missions had been undertaken, which I am now to mention. During the residence of the ordinary at *Amsterdam*, in the beginning of the year 1736, (§ 65.) the missions to *Guinea* and the *Cape of Good Hope* in Africa, to *Ceylon* in the East-Indies, and to *Berbice* in South America, had been partly proposed by friends of the Brethren, in civil and ecclesiastical offices, and partly approved; and treaties on these heads entered upon with the directors of the East and West India companies.

For the first, viz. to *Guinea*, *Christian Protten*, a mulatto from Guinea, who, after his baptism, had studied divinity

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at Copenhagen, and in 1735, having become acquainted with the count, was come to Herrnhut, had offered himself. In 1736 he set out for that purpose, in company of *Henry Kistuff*, from Herrnhut for Holland, and sailed from thence in March 1737 for Guinea. They arrived there on the 11th of May. The latter soon after departed this life: but the former staid some years longer there, and returned in 1741. He has since been there twice again, by his own choice; and departed this life in 1769. Within these few years, preparations have again been made for a mission thither; as will be seen in its place.

*George Schmid*, who, together with *Melchior Nitschmann*, in 1728, on a journey through Bohemia, was imprisoned, and in 1734 enlarged by the interposition of the ordinary; set out from Holland, in 1737, for the *Cape of Good Hope*; having in 1736 arrived from Herrnhut at Amsterdam for that purpose, where he was obliged to wait a whole year. Being landed at the Cape the 9th of July, he soon went several miles farther into the country among the *Hottentots*; where, having erected a hut for himself near *Sergeant's River*, he cleared a spot of land for a plantation. The *Hottentots* gained such a confidence to him, as to send their children to school on his plantation. Being incapable of learning the language of the *Hottentots*, he taught them to read and sing in Low Dutch; instructing both them and their parents in the Christian religion, and keeping them closely to a regular employment. But no sooner had he begun to baptise some of them, (for he actually baptised seven grown persons) but he met with so many impediments and difficulties, that he was obliged to return to Europe in 1744, in hopes of obtaining in Holland the liberty to go again thither, and continue his instruction of the *Hottentots*. But all the endeavours, which both he and other Brethren used, to revisit the forsaken *Hottentots*, who, by authentic accounts, kept still several years together, and longed for their teacher, have hitherto proved ineffectual.

FOR *Ceylon*, even after the publication of the *Pastoral Letter* of *Amsterdam* (of which more will be mentioned hereafter) the Brethren *David Nitschmann*, junior, and *Frederic Eller*, a physician, obtained, in 1738, a passport and a free passage. After a toilsome voyage, during which eighty persons, and among them the doctor of the ship, died, which obliged Eller to supply his place; when both these Brethren, by their conversation and testimony, proved a blessing to many, they arrived at the *Cape* in July 1739. Here they found *Schmid* still labouring with blessing among the Hottentots: but the *Pastoral Letter* brought, even then, many sufferings upon them. In the beginning of the year 1740 they arrived at *Colombo*, where they met with a kind reception from governor *Imhoff*, who, notwithstanding many objections suggested by the *Pastoral Letter*, which protracted the progress of their journey above a quarter of a year, forwarded them to the *Cingalese*. (Thus the natives of the island of *Ceylon* are called.) These had been cautioned against them, as *Atheists*. But, on speaking with the Brethren, they got a confidence to, and were fond of hearing, them. However, when some awakened persons in *Colombo*, who were acquainted with the Brethren, began to hold meetings, the new governor was prevailed upon to order the Brethren, still in the same year, to quit the country. A blessing was nevertheless left behind them, which has been since sought for again.

To *Rio de Berbice* near *Surinam* in *South America*, the Brethren *John Guettner*, and *Lewis Christopher Debus* were expedited in 1738. They were followed in 1740 by *Beutel* and his wife. Having dwelt and worked for a while on the company's plantation, they, in the same year, took a lot of land upon the borders of the colony, where they cultivated a plantation, which they called *Pilgerhut*; and, having

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acquired the language of the *Packs*, or rather *Arawaks*, endeavoured to bring them to the knowledge of their Creator. But it was not till ten years after, that the mission, though at the same time under great pressures, began to flourish : as we shall see in the sequel of this History.

### § 61.

THE mission among the Negroes in *South Carolina*, which took place in the year 1738, proved the occasion of a great awakening in *England*. I will relate this matter from the very beginning. When the second colony of Brethren went to *Georgia* in 1735, three zealous English clergymen were on board the same ship, the Rev. Mess. *John* and *Charles Wesley*, and *Benjamin Ingham*. These having, by this occasion, gained a peculiar affection for the Brethren, sent so many favourable reports of them to *England*, that it raised a desire in many pious persons to get a more intimate knowledge of, and acquaintance with, them. (§ 61.) *John Wesley* became the minister at *Savannah* ; his brother *Charles* attended general *Oglethorpe* in quality of secretary ; and *Ingham*, in conjunction with the Bohemian Brother *Rosa* and his wife, set up a school for the Indians. This school was called *Irene*, and lay not far from an Indian village. In the beginning of the year 1737, when the ordinary resided at *London* (§ 73.) with a view to confer with the English bishops concerning the Moravian episcopacy ; he was solicited by the associates of the late Dr. *Bray* to furnish them with some Brethren to be employed in the conversion of the Negroes in *South Carolina*. He, at the same time, became acquainted with *Charles Wesley*, who was returned with general *Oglethorpe* from *Georgia*, and with some other awakened Germans, who requested of him a Brother, to lead them on in the truth they professed. For the mission to *South Carolina* *Peter Boehler* was called from the university of *Jena* ; and was likewise ordained minister of the colony of

of the Brethren in Georgia. *George Schullius*, a Moravian, was appointed his assistant among the Negroes. They arrived at London the 18th of February 1738, and delivered their letters to the correspondent of the ordinary. At the same time *John Wesley*, lately returned from Georgia, brought letters from the Brethren there. He, rejoicing to find Moravian Brethren here, introduced them to his friends. *Wenceslaus Neisser*, who had conducted the Brethren thus far, renewed the acquaintance he had made with some Germans during his stay here with the ordinary the year before. Peter Boehler was desired by John and Charles Wesley to go with them to Oxford; where he, at their instance, held meetings for the edification of awakened people, both learned and unlearned. This he did in Latin, which, for the sake of the latter, was interpreted by the Rev. *John Gambold*, a clergyman of the church of England, who proved afterwards a blessed instrument in the church of the Brethren. At their return to London, the Brethren were much sought for by many pious persons, who took them into their vestries\*, in order to converse with them concerning the way of salvation. This caused a great emotion. *John Wesley* himself, an eloquent man, and mighty in the scriptures, like *Apollos*, (Acts xviii.) having, by means of the word of reconciliation, and the living evidences of it he found in some Germans of the society of the Brethren, settled here in 1737, who had in this word of atonement found their righteousness and sanctification, been convinced of the insufficiency of his own endeavours, and of the true evangelical foundation and the only way of salvation; began at this time to preach Jesus Christ and him crucified. As he, and other awakened Englishmen, perceived an especial

\* In these church-vestries many sincere people were at that time used to meet under the protection of the bishop of London, with an intent, besides their attendance on the public worship, to be edified in private, and to spend the Lord's day purely in edifying conversation.

blessing in the society established among the Germans; they requested and urged to have such a society or fellowship settled among them also; which was done by *Buehler* on the 13th of May 1738, a little while before the departure of the Brethren for Georgia.

Soon after this, the Moravian Brother *John Toeltschig* returned from Georgia. The Rev. Messrs. *Benjamin Ingham* and *John Wesley* went with him to Germany. Wesley published his *Journal*, in which he gave an ample relation of his first acquaintance with the Brethren, and more particularly of his conversations with Peter Boehler, and in what state he found the congregations at *Heerendyk*, *Herrnhut*, and *Marienborn*. After his return he preached in and about London, as *Ingham* did in *Yorkshire*, to very great numbers of people. This excited many to envy, who at length carried matters so far, that they were denied the pulpits. From that time they preached in large saloons, and in chapels, erected for them by their friends; and when these became too small for the multitudes that followed them, in the public places of cities, and in the open fields. Hence arose a great awakening. The small society which the Brethren had settled, also increased much in a short time. *Wesley* having desired the assistance of the Brethren in establishing and maintaining proper order among the awakened; *Philip Henry Moltzer*, a student of *Jena*, who had been ordained a minister in the church of the Brethren, and was designed for Pennsylvania, but, during the severe winter in 1740, and by a violent fit of sickness, was detained at London, took upon him the care of the awakened in the interim. But as *Wesley* disagreed with him in point of doctrine, and did not chuse to submit to certain regulations made among the Brethren with a view to prevent all offence and scandal, he separated, and established societies of his own.

Many souls were also awakened by *Ingham's* preaching in *Yorkshire*; and, at his request, *John Toeltschig* was sent to his assistance. In the mean time, a great awakening took place at and about *Bedford*, through the sermons of Mr. Francis

*Francis Okey* and the Rev. *Jacob Rogers*. The Brethren who, according to their desire, were sent to assist them, found, among the awakened, persons not merely concerned about hearing the word, but truly in earnest to experience the power of it. These were formed into societies, and ministered unto by the Brethren.

§ 82.

WITH respect to the mission among the Negroes in *South Carolina*, the Brethren *Boehler* and *Schulius* were, by the by-views of those who ought to have forwarded them, (though even the clergy of the church of England desired their assistance,) hindered from prosecuting their proper aim. They could do no more than take upon them the care of some Swiss colonists and their children in the town of *Purisbury*, where no Negroes lived at that time; as, indeed, in the whole province of *Georgia* the keeping Negroes was then by law prohibited. Both of them fell sick. *Schulius* departed this life in 1739; and *Boehler*, who was at the same time minister of the colony in *Georgia*, went with the colonists to *Pennsylvania*. The reason of this was, that the Spaniards, being jealous of their English neighbours, wanted to drive them out of *Georgia*. The Brethren being, among the rest, summoned in 1737 to take up arms in defence of the country, and to march against the Spaniards; they refused it, as being no freeholders, and, of consequence, not obliged to it according to the laws of the colony: having, already before their going to *Georgia*, declared that they neither could nor would do any military service. They represented this grievance to the trustees, who also exempted them from personal service. But as this exemption embittered the minds of the people against them; some of the Brethren in 1738 left their flourishing plantations, having repaid all the money which had been advanced them towards their passage and settlement, and went to *Pennsylvania*. The rest were left undisturbed for a while. But in 1739,

## 230 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

when the troubles of war broke out afresh, being again molested on account of military service, they followed their Brethren in the spring of 1740, and afterwards began the colonies at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, &c. as we shall see in the following Part.

By this means, the mission among the Indians, which began with a fair prospect\*, was also interrupted. It is true, after the Brethren's departure, *John Hagen*, at the request of the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*, who wanted the assistance of a Brother in his intended institutions, went thither, and endeavoured, at the same time, to be serviceable to the Indians. But not having full liberty given him for this last purpose, and *Whitefield* not chusing to employ him any longer as an assistant amongst his awakened people, because he objected to the doctrine of reprobation, which *Whitefield* began to preach here; he also repaired to Pennsylvania, and found an opportunity of labouring with blessing among the savages in those parts.

\* I will take occasion from hence, to make, for once, use of the testimony of an adversary of the Brethren. Dr. *Carpson*, superintendent of *Lubeck*, writes in his *Examination of the Religion of the Bohemian Brethren*, page 417, "Thus we are also informed, by a private letter from the *Indies*, that the *Chiriki*, *Chikaski*, and *Natchi* tribes came to the Moravian Brethren, as early as the year 1736, to hear the gospel; and that such as loved a little nearer them, sent their children to their school; which, with money advanced by the English general *Oglethorpe*, was built, for the sake of the Indians, in August the same year, near the river *Savannah*, and opened on the 25th of September. Some Indian boys had learned to read pretty well, and began to write. The case was the same with the girls. The Brethren's aim was, to induce the parents to let their children live entirely at the school, that the good which had been planted in them, might not be destroyed again among the Heathen. They also were in hopes of more easily acquiring, by this means, the Indian languages, which are almost as numerous as the Indian nations themselves, and thus, of qualifying themselves to preach the gospel among them." With this account compare what has been mentioned in § 61.

§ 83.

IN Autumn 1738 the ordinary went to *Holland*, with a view to put in execution his long intended visitation of the missions among the Heathen. He found here a great commotion among the people, raised by some Reformed ministers against the Brethren, under the pretence of zeal for the purity of the doctrine, and for the peace of the church. To effect this, divers expressions not only of the count, but of all those who pretended to have any acquaintance with him, being partly misunderstood, and partly notoriously wrested, were called in to their aid; a collection of which was studiously made at a synod in South Holland. Though the Brethren in Holland had, verbally, in writing, and in print, sufficiently explained their mind, and offered themselves for a farther personal hearing; yet the greatest part of the *Classis*, or consistory, of *Amsterdam*, thought fit to publish the so-called *Fatherly Pastoral Letter* against the Brethren\*. But four respectable members of the *Classis* immediately protested against the publication of this Letter, of whom the Rev. Mr. *De Bruin*, who was prevented by sickness from being present, wrote his protest with seven cogent reasons, some of which were, that the Brethren had not been heard at all, notwithstanding their frequent offers to answer for themselves; and that he knew no such *Herrnhuters*, as were described in the Pastoral Letter, &c. He caused this protest to be read in the assembly of the *Classis*, and, soon after, to be printed. The Brethren once more offered to clear themselves; but were not heard. The ordinary

\* This letter may be read at large in the *Buedingen-Collection*, II. p. 289 to 339, with some remarks on the part of the Brethren; and, some false sentences and wrested constructions excepted, serves as a clear proof that the Brethren, every where, avow and urge the evangelical doctrine of the Augustan confession, without fear of man, or any accommodation to those of other religions.



himself engaged in the affair, and requested the Classis, in a writing, to point out to him the complaints against the Brethren, to which they might expect a speedy answer, before they published the letter. He, moreover, forewarned them against these proceedings. But all these endeavours were as little regarded, as his *Answer to Professor Gerdes's Academical Oration*, and that gentleman's charge against him of many mystical errors; as also his writing to his friend, the Rev. Mr. *Schiphout*, deputy to the synod, concerning some erroneous tenets ascribed to him and the Brethren. For, notwithstanding all this, the Pastoral Letter was printed. Indeed, the sale of it was at first suspended by the magistrates, when in the mean time the *Declaration of the Brethren near Yffelsein* sold fast. But, to prevent a mob, they were obliged to allow again the sale of it; however, not without first censuring the procedure of the Classis, appealing to their consciences, and charging them to engage in no such thing for the future without conferring with the civil commissioners. If the magistrates were forced, in order to avoid a greater evil, to connive at an acknowledged injustice; the Brethren, to avoid greater disturbances in the church, could do no better, than to suffer and be silent; especially, as they might expect more approbation by their bearing oppression, than their adversaries could expect honour by their supposed victory. However, every sincere person, concerned for the furtherance of the kingdom of Jesus, must needs feel pain, reflecting that, by means of this letter, great hinderances were laid in the way of the labour of the Brethren among the Heathen; where, in some places, the fruit of the gospel, already sprung up, was, as it were, trodden under foot: (§ 79 and 80.) though it did not prove very hurtful to the cause of the Brethren in Europe, since here, by a nearer inspection, it was easy to be convinced of the contrary,

## § 84.

THE ordinary could do no more in this affair, than publish a cordial and tender *Declaration concerning what had passed at Amsterdam, since the 28th of October 1738, relative to himself, and the Congregation of the Lord which he served*. He then embarked for *St. Thomas*. But on the day of his departure from the *Texel*, he sent back an *Instrument concerning Herrnbut*, setting forth in what relation this congregation should stand to the Lutheran church in general, and the parish of *Bertholdsdorf* in particular; together with his *Eventual last Will*, since he could not know, whether he should ever return in health from this dangerous voyage to an unhealthy island, in which so many of his fellow-labourers had found their graves. The unreasonable censures of some whom it did not at all concern, even of some Brethren at Herrnbut, that he was continually sending people into an unhealthy climate, where they must soon die, had induced him, among the three visitations to be undertaken this year, to chuse for himself that to the *West Indies* and *Georgia* \*. He commissioned the Rev. Mr. *Neuffer* to go upon the visitation to *Greenland*, who indeed in 1739 came as far as *Disco* in a Dutch ship; but this, with three other ships, being seized for carrying on a traffic in prohibited places, he was obliged to return without executing his commission. However, that wherein he failed was accomplished by *Andrew Grasmann* in the year 1740, to an abiding blessing for that mission. *David Nitschmann*, junior, visited the mission among the *Hottentots*, on his way to *Ceylon*. But the ordinary sailed the 27th of December 1738, with some Brethren and Sisters, who had offered themselves for the mission.

\* He intended to go to *Georgia* by way of *Pennsylvania*: but as he found in *St. Thomas* no ship bound thither, this voyage was laid aside for that time.

among the Negroes, for *St. Thomas*, and arrived there the 29th of January 1739 by way of *St. Eustatia*. I will say no more of the incidents on his voyage thither and on his return, singular and agreeable as they are, than that he was very busily employed at sea, and in particular wrote the treatise, *Jeremiah, a Preacher of Righteousness*, &c. which has proved so blessed and comfortable to many a concerned Lutheran minister. He also finished on this voyage the *Essay of a Translation of the New Testament*, which he had begun some years before, and continued on his travels amidst many difficulties and various avocations; insomuch that we have no cause to be surprised at the defects of this work acknowledged by himself.

### § 85.

ON his arrival in *St. Thomas* he found all the Brethren in prison, where they had lain fifteen weeks in the most wretched condition. The case was this. The Reformed clergyman *Berm*, according to his own letter, had taken upon him to examine some converted Negroes, and to rebaptize one of them. But, as they were not willing to answer his improper and captious questions, he instigated the common council to petition the governor to forbid the Brethren to administer baptism, as being not regularly ordained, and to compel a certain missionary, who was married by *Frederic Martin*, to be married again. But as no answer followed, the governor being satisfied with the declaration of the Brethren; they had, under the pretext of a robbery, charged upon the Brethren, from which they were to clear themselves by an oath, which they refused, prevailed upon the governor to imprison them all. It is easy to imagine what was the true reason. The converted Negroes, indeed, desired no exemption from bodily labour on account of their conversion; but would maintain the liberty to which Christ had called them, and no longer suffer themselves to be

be abused unto sin\*. In the mean while they proceeded to edify one another, notwithstanding they were beaten, whipt, their books burnt, the Brethren reviled, and the holy sacraments, which they had received at their hands, treated with contempt.

As soon as the ordinary landed, and was informed that the Brethren were in prison; he sent to the governor, and desired their enlargement. He discharged them the next day, made an apology for what had passed, and wished to come to an agreement with him, in what manner the Brethren might in future preach the gospel to the Negroes, till a royal mandate should arrive in this case. The ordinary concerted measures with him, but *Friederic Martin* would listen to no proposals, which could have the least tendency to make the Negroes hypocrites. The ordinary was desirous also to treat, by a notary, with the Reformed minister, in order to procure quiet for the Negroes; but he declined it.

The number of Negroes, who heard the gospel with eagerness, amounted, even then, to eight hundred. These, after their work was done, came diligently to the meetings, which the ordinary held for them. He procured for the mission a small plantation, called, *The Posaunenberg*, where the Negroes might come to the preaching in peace and safety; but was, presently after the dedication of the church and his farewell-discourse, grieved to hear that some drunken people fell upon the Negroes with cutting and slashing. The behaviour of the enemies became, after his departure, so outrageous, that they were forced to hold their meetings in the woods. In the mean time the ordinary's representation to the king, and the petition of the Negroes to both their royal majesties, effected so much, that, by a re-

\* By this remark, all the masters of slaves, disinclined to the mission, are no more accused, than all the Negroes, that attended the preaching of the Brethren, can and will be acquitted of actual faults.

script to the West India company of the 7th of August 1739, orders were given to suffer the Brethren to labour among the Negroes without molestation, and to protect them against the Reformed clergyman. But, notwithstanding this, they were still obliged to undergo many pressures, till the masters of the Negroes saw by their behaviour, that they received no damage, but advantage from their conversion\*.

The ordinary, on his return, wrote a letter to a dissatisfied friend, in which, as also in the *Declaration of Mr. Carsten, director of the West India Company, in behalf of the Moravian Brethren in St. Thomas*, we have a full view of the state of the mission at that time. He himself, in a letter to a labourer at Herrnhut, very modestly expresses himself concerning it, thus: "The congregation in St. Thomas is twice as large, as the chapel at Herrnhut can contain. The many thousand tears, which they shed at the meetings, when I was with them; their faithfulness under grievous sufferings, (a Negro being a very anxious and timorous creature) the several faithful and apostolic labourers from among them, render them very dear and venerable. My business, possibly, was to release the Brethren who were all in prison, to settle the congregation, to provide some new places with labourers, to buy again in a suitable manner the Negro-helpers sold away from the island, and to show my Brethren that St. Thomas is neither too remote, nor too unhealthy, to be visited by us. These things, together with some other matters, our Saviour has granted me to succeed in. But I look upon the whole voyage in no other light, than as a blessed school for myself."

\* All these events are more fully set forth in *Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the evangelical Brethren in the Caribbee Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan*, published in German in 1777.

§ 86.

BEFORE we proceed to take a view of the employment of the ordinary, after his visitation in St. Thomas, I must still mention a little more circumstantially, the *Dedication of the Book of Daily Words for the Year 1739*, which, before his departure out of the Texel, he sent back into the congregations: because it contains those countries and places, where congregations, missions, and colonies were at that time, or even Brethren stationed singly, in the service of the kingdom of Jesus. The *Dedication* is: *The good Word of the Lord for 1739, selected out of all the Prophets, for his Congregations and Servants at*

1. *Herrnhut in Upper Lusatia*: of which enough has been said hitherto.

2. *Herrnhag* in the county of *Ysenburg*: of which see § 78.

3. *Heerendyk* near *Yffelstein*. § 66.

4. *Pilgerruh*. So the place was called, which the before-mentioned colony in *Royal Holstein* (§ 60.) built in the year 1737, near *Oldesloe*: of which more hereafter.

5. *Eberisdorf*. Here has been an Ecclesiola, ever since the end of the last century; which, since the marriage of count *Zinzendorf* with a countess of this house, came into a nearer connexion with Herrnhut, and obtained several Brethren and Sisters from thence to their assistance.

6. *Jena*. Here the young count *Christian Renatus De Zinzendorf* prosecuted his studies since the year 1737, together with some young gentlemen, and had not only a fine congregation in his house, but a respectable number of awakened students and citizens about him.

7. At *Amsterdam*, and

8. At *Rotterdam* were Brethren, who took care of the awakened. § 73.

9. *London*, of which see § 81.

10. At

## 236 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

10. At *Oxford* was a Brother from *Moravia*, in order to continue the acquaintance which *Peter Boehler* had made there on his journey to *South Carolina*.

11. At *Berlin* resided a few Brethren, to minister unto the little flock there. § 76.

12. In *Greenland* was a mission since 1733, (§ 57.) which in 1738 began to bring forth fruit. Concerning this mission, see the *History of Greenland*.

13. *St. Croix*. § 59.

14. *St. Thomas*. § 56.

15. *St. Jan*, whither some converted Negroes from *St. Thomas* had been sold, was cared for from thence.

16. To *Berbice* in *South America* the first Brethren were gone in this year, 1738. § 80.

17. In *Palestine* and the bordering countries was a Brother, *Jonas Korte*, not sent indeed by the congregation, but yet with their prayers and blessing. The account of his journey is known.

18. To *Surinam* in *South America* the first Brethren were sent in 1735. § 62.

19. At *Savannah* in *Georgia* was still at that time the colony mentioned in § 61 and 82.

20. To the *Negroes* in *Carolina* two Brethren were gone, according to § 73 and 82.

21. Among the *Savages* in *Irene*. So the mission among the *Creeks* in *Georgia* was called. of which see § 82, in the note.

22. In *Pennsylvania* were not only the two Brethren, who went thither with the *Schwenkfelders* from *Upper Lusatia*, according to § 49; but the Rev. Mr. *Spangenberg* also, after his visitation in *St. Thomas*, resided there till the year 1739, not without blessing.

23. Among the *Hottentots* was the *Moravian Brother George Schmid* in blessing. § 79.

24. In *Guinea*: of which see § 79.

25. In

25. In *Lettonia* and *Esthonia* the ordinary was obliged to fulfil his promise, sending the Brethren desired for the assistance of some ministers; of whose blessed labour mention was made in § 70. Brevity forbids me to say more at present, than that he faithfully cautioned the ministers there, not to exceed the bounds of the ecclesiastical constitution of the country with the Brethren given them. See his two Letters in the *Buedingen-Collection*, Vol. I. p. 367, 368. compared with the pastor primarius *Mikwitz's* Letter. *Ibid.* III. p. 831.

26. In *Lithuania*, *Frederic Boehnisch*, afterwards a missionary in Greenland, and *Demuth*, had, in 1733, visited the emigrants from *Salzburg*, who afterwards were often visited, at the request of some ministers, by the Brethren travelling that way to *Livonia*.

27. In *Russia*, a Lutheran minister had, at *St Petersburg*, a Brother who was a candidate for the ministry, as domestic tutor and assistant in preaching; and desired to have a Brother as clerk. Also a Brother from *Moravia* was house-steward to count *Ostermann*.

28. On the *White Sea*; and,

29. In *Lapland*, three Brethren made an attempt, according to § 58, from 1734 to 1738, to bring the gospel among the *Laplanders* and *Samojedes*; but were imprisoned on that account.

30. In *Norway*, besides some Brethren who maintained themselves by their labour, and withal were used in blessing, by some ministers, for the purpose of conversing with their awakened parishioners, a student lived as tutor with a minister at *Bergen*, who preached with the permission of the bishop.

31. To *Switzerland* Brethren were gone in the years 1730 and 1731, to obtain some intelligence of the *Waldenses* \*. Also baron *Frederic De Watteville* had visited his father

\* The visit to the *Waldenses* in the valleys of *Piedmont* proved the first time, in 1744, in vain; but the second time, in 1745,



## 240 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

father and relations at *Bern*, and other friends. From hence arose a blessed acquaintance with the venerable *Samuel Lucius* and other ministers in Switzerland, who made use of the Brethren for the more solid establishment of the awakened.

32. In the *Isle of Man*, the venerable hoary head, *Thomas*, bishop of *Sodor and Man*, afterwards antistes of the Reformed *Tropus* in the Unity, kept up a correspondence with the ordinary, and had this year a descendent of the *Waldenses*, from the church of the Brethren, with him \*.

33. To *Shetland*, two Brethren had travelled through *Scotland*, in order to search for the *Waldenses*, who were dispersed thither at the time of a great persecution.

34. In prison, besides the three Brethren mentioned N<sup>o</sup>. 29, were then always some for the sake of the gospel; a year scarcely passing without it. This year, in *Silesia*, where, since 1725, a new life was sprung up among the descendents of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren who had fled thither, *Ernest Julius De Seidlitz*, lord of the manor of *Upper Peilau*, was cast into prison, on account of his labour among them.

35. On the pilgrimage to *Ceylon*. See § 80. The two Brethren did not set off, till after the ordinary's departure to *St. Thomas*.

36. To *Ethiopia*, one Brother; and

37. To *Persia*, a physician with his wife were then ready to go: to *Ethiopia*, in order to gain an acquaintance with the *Coptic church*, and their patriarch; to *Persia*, with a view to

it was executed, though with great danger. Neither were the Reformed in *France* forgotten; but, since 1737, they have been frequently visited with blessing, though in illness and good order.

\* Among the many correspondents of the Brethren in almost all the Protestant countries and religions, who were wellwishers of their labour, especially among the Heathen, and promised them their good advice and assistance; I will, on this occasion, and in this year, only take notice of two, *Dr. Watts* and *Dr. Doddridge*, sufficiently known by their learned and edifying writings. See a Recommendatory Letter from the former in the *Acta Fratrum*, &c. App. LVI. p. 42.

make the true Light known to the *Gauri* or *Gebri*, the posterity of the *Magi* or *wise men*, who worshipped the new-born King of the Jews, Matt. ii. But they suffering themselves to be detained by other business from the prosecution of this design, these journeys were undertaken by other Brethren, in the years 1747 and 1752.

38. *On visitations to the messengers among the Heathen.* This matter was treated of in the foregoing § 84 and 85.

39. *And elsewhere, by land and sea,* there has never been a cessation of journeys and voyages in the service of the kingdom of Jesus, from 1727 to this present time.

### § 87.

THUS, the descendents of the Bohemian Brethren had, in a short time, properly in the six years from 1732 to 1738, honourably, and to every one's surprise, fulfilled the desire of the late Dr. *Luther*, That they should not confine themselves to their native country, but learn languages, and preach the gospel to other nations also; which some of his followers now seem inclined to censure. Though some have been disposed to represent this *Dedication* as ostentatious and untrue; yet I can assure the reader, that no notice is taken in it of those places where the Brethren have visited on their journeys, and left a blessing behind them, in the ten years, since 1727; but did not reside there in this year 1738. Neither are those places comprised in this list, where, even about this time, smaller or larger flocks, according to the pattern of Dr. *Spener's* wished-for *Ecclesiæ in Ecclesia*, were gathered, and connected with the congregation of the Brethren; but just then had no member of it among them. Even some posts where Brethren then actually resided for the good of souls, are not mentioned. I remember, that, about this time, a Brother, whose name was *Piper*, resided in *Iceland*; and that, soon after the ordinary's return from *Berlin* to *Marienborn*, *Leonhard Dober* lived at *Amsterdam*,

to see if it were possible to find an entrance with the gospel among the *Jews*. His stay was not entirely without blessing; which afterwards induced *Samuel Lieberkuehn*, M. A. to live among them for some years. He, indeed, made no profelytes from among them; although several baptized *Jews* from other places, as also *Turks* and *Persians*, came to the congregation of the Brethren: but yet many were so powerfully convinced of the truth of the gospel, that numbers of them attended his sermons in several Lutheran churches in *Holland*; and, some years after, his discourses to the congregation at *Zeist*; and afforded hope, that many, perhaps, in their last hours might flee for refuge to the true mercy-seat.

The *Gypsies*, some fruits of whom were also seen in the congregation, were applied to by the merchant *Abraham Ehrenfried Richter*, of Stralfund. He, having lived awhile at Herrnhut, even in his old age was desirous of gratifying his great inclination to recommend the happiness of the children of God to the most wretched of human creatures; and, to this end, to go to the assistance of the missionary among the *Hottentots*. He sought leave for it in *Holland*; but as he could not obtain it, he went to *England* and *France*, where his name and animating exhortations in many places have left a good favour to this day. From *England* he went to *Algiers*. The Dutch admiral *Schryver* had desired the ordinary to let the captive Christian slaves in *Algiers* be taken care of. *Richter* found himself inclined to it, and went thither in October 1739. He cared faithfully for them; and, notwithstanding all the representations of the Christian consuls, who wished to be of service to him, spared himself so little, that, at the very time of the plague, he moved into the town, went to the slaves in their *Banges* (barracks), preached to them, and ministered to their bodily wants, and prepared many for their end, until he himself was taken off, the 19th of July 1740, by the plague, which, he had once before passed through. The afore-mentioned admiral *Schryver* was also  
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the occasion to, and the furtherance of, *Charles Nottbek's* going to *Algiers*. He went to *Lisbon* in the year 1744, as clerk to a well-disposed merchant, and arrived at *Algiers* in May 1745. The admiral recommended him in the best manner to the Dutch consul there. He staid till October 1748; during which time he ministered unto the slaves, with the permission of the dey, at times in danger of his life, both by preaching the gospel to them, and by other works of love and mercy. He was also visited, during his stay, by his own brother *Christian Nottbek* and by *Gottlieb Haberecht*, from the congregation. His abode there was not without fruit; for some of them, having obtained their liberty, went to some congregations of the Brethren, in which they finished their course happily.

§ 88.

FOR the sake of historical connexion, we now revert to the ordinary's return from *St Thomas*. He sailed from thence in February 1739, by way of *St. Croix* and *St. Eustatia*, and arrived in *England* April the 20th, visited at *London* and *Oxford*, and found great awakenings in the country. In *Holland* he met here and there with blessed little flocks, though a great deal was spoken and written against the Brethren, which induced him to publish a declaration, why he gave no answer to these things. On the first of June he arrived at *Marienborn*, sick, wretched, emaciated, and all over full of boils and sores; and after some time he got the quartan ague, which so affected him, that his recovery was doubtful. Thus, it might easily have become a serious matter with regard to the report, that he died on his voyage to the West Indies; though others, on the contrary, who could not comprehend, how it was possible to sail to the West-Indies and back again in so short a space of time, gave it out as an infamous falsehood, that he ever had been in *St. Thomas*. When, therefore, upon the report of his death, a

## 244 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

greater number of adversaries rose up in public writings against him, he showed that he was still alive, and wrote, under the date of September the 25th, 1739, an *Empfang-Schein*, or, *A Receipt of the new controversial Writings*, which, as it were, lays down his last sentiments and mind in doctrine and practice, and in all his actions; and which, together with the remarks annexed by the Rev. Mr. *Spangenberg*, is well worth reading.

At *Marienborn* he found his son *Christian Renatus*. He was, in the mean time, returned from *Jena*, and his tutors and other students of divinity had followed him hither. This was the beginning of the *Theological Seminary*, which soon after received an increase from *Halle*, and, by degrees, from almost all the universities in and out of Germany. Sick as the ordinary was, he gave, the day after his arrival, an extensive account to the congregation of his voyage and transactions, so as, at that time, all the missionaries coming from their posts used to do; and ordained two candidates that were come with his son. He then went to *Ebersdorf*, and held a *Synod* in June with the Brethren convened thither for that purpose; at which, in particular, the congregation-regulations in Lutheran and Reformed countries, according to the platform of *Herrnhut*, if not even according to that of the Moravian church, were entirely disapproved. Yet the fellowship of, and good order among, the awakened in such places, were not meant to be affected by this; but these were rather recommended, and only advised to be regulated agreeably to the religious and civil constitution of the respective countries. But where this would not be allowed of, in such case, people could not be hindered from departing, and seeking their liberty in the congregations of the Brethren.

From *Ebersdorf* the ordinary, for the sake of his health, took a journey into *Wuerttemberg*, and preached in several Imperial and other cities in the churches. His sermon at

*Halle* in *Swabia* was inaccurately taken down and printed. He complained of this to the dean, who endeavoured to redress this fault. At his return to *Marienborn*, he was, in an especial manner, concerned for the welfare of the congregation at *Herrnhaag*; and took care, that the Brethren, desired for *Livonia* and other places, were properly chosen, prepared, and dispatched.

§ 89.

ABOUT this time the Brethren attempted to bring the gospel also to the Heathen in the *East*, and likewise to renew their acquaintance with the *Greek* church, by which the gospel was first brought to *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. To this end, *Arvid Gradin*, M. A. a Swede, was dispatched with a letter from the bishops of the Brethren, dated November the 10th, 1735, to the patriarch of *Constantinople*, to whom he laid open, not only at a very honourable audience he obtained of him, April the 26th, but particularly in several friendly conversations with the archbishop of *Dercom*, the origin, doctrine, and constitution of the Unity of the Brethren, both in writing and by word of mouth; with the request to give him a recommendatory letter to the *Greek* clergy, in behalf of the missionaries to the Heathen in the *East*; which was also granted. But, as it contained more than he desired, mention being made of such an union and agreement with the *Greek* church, as did not exist; he desired, that some expressions might be altered. But, as this could not be done, because the writing was synodally drawn up; he, having taken a copy of it, from too great scrupulosity, returned it; which was the occasion of an apology being afterwards sent to the archbishop of *Dercom*, who had taken most pains in the affair. The proper view, and the whole result of this deputation, together with other transactions of the deputy, are related at large in the *Natural Reflections*; and in the *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, App.

EXVI, part of the *Journal* of this *Negotiation* is inserted, which is worth reading, as an example of the utmost care, which is taken by the Brethren to prevent all appearance of *syncretism* in their dealings with other churches. However, this deputation was attended with this advantage, that the descent of the Unity of the Brethren from the Greek church was acknowledged. As to the acquaintance with the same, this was again attempted in the year 1743, and since, to 1747, by the same *Arvid Gradin*, at *St. Petersburg*, with many advantages, though under great difficulties; but it was not brought into the right channel till the year 1763, as we shall see in its place.

## § 90.

THE Brethren being informed, about this time, that the hospodar of *Wallachia*, which country is of the Greek church, endeavoured to draw German artificers into his territories; *Zacharias Hirschel* from Bohemia, and *Nicholas Andrew Jaeschke* from Moravia, were, in 1740, dispatched to him, to make a more strict enquiry into this matter. Their journey through the Empire, Hungary and Transylvania, was blessed in a great measure, but exceedingly dangerous, it being performed just at the end of the Turkish war, when all parts swarmed with robbers. Besides, they were several times in danger of being torn to pieces by the dogs, which, in those great wildernesses, are kept with the herds of cattle. Twice the Turks, who took them to be spies, on account of their German dress, would have cut off their heads, had not a poor officer of the Janissaries, to whom they showed some kindness on the road, protected them; and, when they were out of all danger, first told them why he had so often quarrelled with the Turks. July the 1st, 1740, they arrived at *Bukarest*, the chief city of *Wallachia*; and, on the 12th of July, a gracious audience of the hospodar and his *Bojars*, and set out the 19th on their return furnish-

ed with an original Greek letter of invitation, and a privilege for the Brethren, who were willing to settle there; which letter was translated into Latin. But the news which presently followed of the hospodar's death, and the troubles of war ensuing afterwards, rendered this affair impracticable for the time being.

§ 91.

IN the mean time, the missions to the Heathen in the *East* were obliged to be postponed for the present. But in the *West*, a congregation of Negroes, collected from among the Heathen, was already in a prosperous condition. Nor were the missions in *Georgia* and *South Carolina* as yet given up. In *Surinam* and *Berbice* the Brethren had good hopes; and preparation was made for a mission among the *Indians* in *North America*. *Christian Henry Rauch* was gone thither in the year 1739. He arrived in July, 1740, at *New York*. Here his undertaking was looked upon as almost impossible; because not only several fruitless attempts had been made from England for this purpose: but because it was attended with the greatest danger for a white man to dwell among the *Indians*, among whom, when they were drunk, he was never sure of his life. *Rauch* was not dismayed at this, so as to relinquish his aim; but put his trust in him who had sent him, and to whom nothing is impossible. He also soon found an opportunity of speaking with two *Mahikanders*, who had something to transact with the governor at *New York*. Having made known to them the aim of his coming hither, he begged them to take him with them to their place of abode. They did so; and brought him to their habitation at *Chekomekab*, situate on the *Stiffiker Mountains*, on the borders of *New England*. They at first received him friendly, and heard with attention the good words he made known unto them of their Creator and Redeemer. But the white people, who lived round about this place,



## 248 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

having rendered him suspected by the Indians, they were so set against him, that they threatened to shoot him. But the Lord held his hand over him; and the Indians, at length, received a different opinion of him, by his loving and patient behaviour. At last he found such entrance to their hearts with the testimony of the gospel, that he had, even in the year 1741, a great assembly around him; and, in the year 1742, the three first-fruits were baptized.

About this time, the presence of some chief labourers became more and more necessary in *Pennsylvania* and in other parts of *America*. The senior bishop, *David Nitschmann*, resolved to go thither himself. It was necessary to elect another bishop in his place. This, and other circumstances, gave occasion to the Synod, which was held at *Gotha*, in summer 1740. The election fell upon *Polycarp Mueller*, formerly professor at *Leipzig*, and late director of the academy at *Zittau*. His consecration took place, July the 9th, in *Wetteravia*. Among other important points treated of at this synod, a resolution was also taken, by a solemn deputation of the elder, *John Leonhard Dober*, and the newly elected bishop *Polycarp*, both in word and writing, to ask pardon of the institution at *Halle*, which was thought to have been aggrieved several ways; but as it was not accepted, so the desired effect was not attained.

### § 92.

DEPUTIES also appeared at this synod from the colony in *Holstein*. When this colony, according to § 60, was not received in *Ducal Holstein*, the Brethren, in the beginning of the year 1736, had turned their thoughts to *Royal Holstein*, in expectation of the good advice from their Brethren, whether they should settle here, or move to some other place? The count had advised them to go to *Holland*, where, according to § 66, a colony was to be established in the barony of *Yffelsstein*. But they had, by means of some great patrons

patrons and friends, both in church and state, been induced to settle in Royal Holstein. Here, indeed, they obtained such privileges and immunities, as they neither could nor should have at Herrnhut or in Ducal Holstein; for they had even a minister, ordained by *David Nitschmann*, bishop of the Moravian Brethren. But certain conditions and restrictions were annexed, among which the solemn renunciation of the congregation at Herrnhut, and of the superintendency of count Zinzendorf, then antistes of the Moravian Brethren, was the most embarrassing. The deputy, *John Martin Dober*, who had submitted to a regular examination for his office, and gained a fine testimonial of his orthodoxy from the superintendent general, *George John Conrad*, withdrew from this negotiation, leaving a protest against it, and returned to Herrnhut. But the rest of the Brethren built, in 1737, a settlement near *Oldesloe*, and called this new colony, *Pilgerub*. Their minister, *John George Waiblinger*, M. A. was induced by the superintendent general, who had taken most pains to draw them into the Danish territories. For a time they stood in such favour with every one, and even in such blessing, that two of them were sent with the superintendent general's letters patent into the district of *Tondern*, in order to bring separatists, residing there, who gave the clergy a great deal of trouble, to rights again. But the effects of their precipitation in the beginning of this colony, soon appeared. They perceived the want of fellowship with their Brethren, and of growth in inward grace, resulting from it. Erroneous opinions and divisions arose among them, which at length broke out in a schism. More and more was also required of them from without, which they could not comply with. Though the count likewise had declared, that they were not under his superintendency, and insisted upon their keeping the promise they had once made; yet this was not sufficient, but they were now required to take a particular oath, and to sign a written declaration on this head. This burdened their consciences. They sent deputies to the *Synod* of the Brethren,

## 250 MODERN HISTORY of the BRETHREN, Part IV.

thren, assembled at *Gotha*, and asked pardon of the synod and all the congregations for their precipitance, revoked their renunciation of them, and requested the intercession of the Brethren at court. For this purpose, the syndic *John Gottlieb Boehmer* was deputed to Copenhagen. But as he effected nothing, they desired leave to emigrate. This request was partly granted them, and partly commanded by a Royal edict of the 24th of March 1741. However, upon a very pressing representation of the superintendent general, and of some other patrons of high rank at court, the Brethren afterwards were again permitted to stay; a dispensation was granted them from taking the oath, and from renouncing the congregation; and all possible favour and indulgence promised. But as they had, mean while, begun to emigrate, the remainder, whose farther stay, on account of the inward disharmony among them, was not approved of, were likewise provided for in other congregations; and the place was to be supplied with new and useful colonists. But the regency of the country not agreeing to this, the houses stood empty, and were sold since 1751.

### § 93.

AFTER the synod at *Gotha*, the conferences were, in the month of December 1740, continued at *Marienborn*, in which especially the doctrine, and the manner of propounding it, were treated of with particular clearness. In the mean time, the subjects of the count of *Ysenburg Buedingen* had presented a complaint against their sovereign to the Imperial chamber of justice at *Wezlar*. One of the charges was, his having received the Brethren, to whom they attributed an erroneous confession of faith. They were dismissed without obtaining their aim. A visit made by one of the most respectable assessors of the Imperial chamber to *Marienborn* and *Herrnhag*, had not only the most happy effect upon his  
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own heart, which appeared in particular at his edifying departure out of time; but also gave the rest of the assessor quite another insight into the cause of the Brethren. But yet the ordinary could not be satisfied with this; and was determined, at his intended journey to America, not to leave the Brethren's congregation in an uncertainty, in what light they were considered in the German empire. He was informed, that attempts had been made by respectable states of the empire to procure an entire proscription of the Brethren, which, however, was put a stop to by one of the spiritual electors, who assigned this reason, " That the count  
" and the Brethren's congregation aimed at nothing but  
" the advancing the glory and kingdom of God; and that  
" their enemies, instigated by mere envy, wanted to exclude  
" them from the privileges of those who adhered to the  
" confession of Augsburg " The ordinary, therefore, took occasion from this complaint given in at, but rejected by, the Imperial chamber, to endeavour, first of all, to move the Imperial fiscal to an examination of any charges come to his knowledge. But as he could not enter into the matter, the ordinary went himself to *Wezlar* towards the end of this year, and requested the Imperial chamber to examine all the accusations against the Brethren, which had for some time been spread abroad in the world. But it was not thought at all necessary, and endeavours were used to dissuade him from it. The case was the same with his pressing solicitation to the count of Ysenburg Buedingen, sovereign of the country in which Herrnhag lay, to join with him in attempting, after a previous communication with all sorts of his adversaries, to procure a solid examination, and thus to make an end of the accusations not only against this congregation, but against the whole church of the Brethren, before the Imperial chamber, or some other temporal or spiritual court.

## § 94.

THIS attempt he made from *Geneva*, whither he was gone with his family in the beginning of the year 1741, in order to get acquainted with the church of Geneva, as the proper seat of *Calvin*, and the mother of many Presbyterian churches; and, after the example of the ancient Brethren in Bohemia, to enter into a friendly correspondence with this church. At the same time he was willing to serve his friends in *Switzerland*, who desired to be visited by the Brethren. He had, for that end, taken more Brethren with him, than he and his lady wanted in their service. These made an useful acquaintance with many awakened, who were before inclined to separatism. In order to set them a good example, those of his domestics, who were of the Reformed religion, went with them to the holy communion at Easter. At his house in *Plen Palais* he regulated the meetings, as usual in a congregation: but, though he permitted no strangers to attend them, yet, at their repeated request, he held them, shortly before his departure, some particular discourses. Notwithstanding the weakness, still attending him from his voyage to the West Indies, he had many conversations with the professors and ministers, and put into their hands an ample narrative, dated the 28th of April, of the origin, revolutions, doctrine, regulation, and church-discipline of the Brethren in ancient and modern times, in order to give them a true idea of the church of the Brethren, which, in time to come, might serve as a ground-work for history. For this purpose, as he had done in some other great archives and libraries, he likewise ordered some important documents to be deposited in their library. All this, as it appears by the deputation from the university and the clergy, and by an act drawn up on that occasion, was exceedingly well received, and accompanied with a fine eulogy and good wishes. He also delivered to them a writing in Latin, containing